

APRIL 1939

TWENTY-FIVE CENTS

CURRENT HISTORY



GERMANY'S FALCONS OF THE SEA

By Major George Fielding Eliot

RAYMOND CLAPPER • JOHN GUNTHER • JAMES RORTY • CARLETON BEALS

America's Number One Non-Fiction Readership

Current History readers spend more than three and a half-million dollars each year for books. Even more remarkable than the sum you spend is the fact that 89 per cent of all your annual book purchases are non-fiction books. Your book expenditures, therefore, represent over 25 per cent of all the dollars spent by adults each year in these United States for worth-while non-fiction books. Perhaps that is why book-display advertising in *Current History* has increased more than 400 per cent during the last three years. And perhaps that is why 40 leading American publishers used space in *Current History* during 1938.

The World Today in Books,

our regular monthly feature, is the largest and most complete non-fiction book section published by any general American magazine. This month's section is devoted to the outstanding 1938-39 non-fiction books published by University presses. In the deeply troubled state of the world today, the scholastic integrity of university press books makes them not only interesting but a highly valuable source of sound information. This month's *World Today in Books* is, therefore, full of reviews of books you will want to buy and read. If you cannot buy them at your local bookstore, write to *Current History* at 63 Park Row, New York, N. Y. We have a special book-service department which handles book orders for our readers. There is no charge for this service. Neither do we charge you postage for shipping.

Since book advertising makes possible such services as these, we are grateful to the university presses listed below for the space they have reserved in this issue. Our readers, too, will be glad to be reminded of the good books which have been contributed to good reading during the past year by these outstanding University presses:

Cambridge University Press
Cornell University Press
Harvard University Press
Johns Hopkins Press, The
University of Michigan Press

University of Minnesota Press
University of Oklahoma Press
Oxford University Press
Stanford University Press
Yale University Press

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**CURRENT
HISTORY
MAGAZINE**

NEW YORK CITY

Bylines

I believe an obligation assumed is to be met, and that regardless of whether it is owned by an individual, organization or nation.—*Vice-President Garner.*

We must not delay in preparation for potential and physical action.—*Key Pittman, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.*

I shall defend liberty at the same time that I defend our country.—*Premier Daladier.*

Don't be surprised if the German people revolt on the verge of warfare.—*Thomas Mann, self-exiled German novelist.*

We have, on the whole, an abler and better trained medical personnel than any other country in the world.—*James Rorty (Page 28).*

Chiang Kai-shek does not like people in the abstract—or even the particular.—*John Gunther (Page 40).*

It is not to be expected that Roosevelt at this late date will announce that he has been wrong for six years.—*Raymond Clapper (Page 20).*

The haggard spokesman for a caravan of starving farmers blurted out: "We're living like hogs—except hogs get food."—*Richard L. Neuberger (Page 33).*

Germany's naval policy is designed for just one purpose: for an attack upon Britain at her most vulnerable point, her sea-born trade.—*George F. Eliot (Page 23).*

QUESTION FROM THE FLOOR: Will you balance the national budget when you become President of the United States?

ANSWER: I can tell how to do it, but I don't think I ever will be in a position to do it.—*Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, at a National Republican luncheon in New York.*

Europe is like an artichoke. The Nazis are eating leaf by leaf. France and Britain are the heart of the artichoke to be eaten later.—*Harold J. Laski, professor of political science at London University, via an Associated Press dispatch.*

Current History

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COVER PHOTOGRAPH FROM ACME

Current History, Volume L, No. 2, April, 1939. Whole No. 293. Published monthly by C-H Publishing Corporation, 63 Park Row, New York, N. Y. J. Hilton Smyth, President; John T. Hackett, Vice-President; I. H. Williams, Secretary; E. Trevor Hill, Treasurer. M. E. Tracy, Editor. John A. Curtis, Advertising Manager, 551 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 25c a copy; \$3 a year; two years \$5; three years \$7, in the United States, possessions, Canada, Central and South America and Spain; elsewhere \$1.25 a year additional. Subscribers should notify Current History of change of address at least three weeks in advance, sending both old and new addresses. Indexed in the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature. Entered as second-class matter September 28, 1935, at the postoffice at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Additional entry at the postoffice at Albany, New York. Entered in Canada as second-class matter. Copyright, 1939, by C-H Publishing Corporation. Printed in U. S. A.

The World Today in Books

IN its annual university press article last year, this department expressed the opinion that many reviewers unjustly ignore books carrying a university imprint, even when such books are not specialized and deserve a wide audience. Among the half dozen rejoinders from literary critics who wrote back in varying degrees of hurt and huff was this note from a seaphic West Coast book columnist:

"You are unfair to unorganized literary critics. It's not our fault, as you seem to infer, that the general public is not better acquainted with university press books. Do you want to know whom to blame? Simple—the authors.

"Blame the authors, I say—especially those who are best known. Blame them because they flock to commercial publishing houses and seldom give university presses a chance to bid for their books, many of which are awaited by the public with more or less interest. And since these titles command most attention, they are generally—and not unnaturally—at the head of the critic's to-be-reviewed list. Now and then an unknown crashes through to top billing, but the occasion is not too frequent; too infrequent perhaps. Especially is this true in the non-fiction field where established names are so important.

"Ten years ago an author might have felt that a university press could not give his book a good selling and good publicity job. But I don't think it is true today anymore. There are a number of university presses in the country that go in for merchandising in a way that would do credit to any of the commercial publishers. Why don't the authors give them a chance at the long-term contracts?

"And so I suggest that you pick up those darts you tossed at us, re-feather them and aim at the authors—a much more deserving target."

We were disposed at first to run up the white flag and withdraw our complaint against reviewers. Especially were we willing to agree that the

presses have made great strides as merchandisers. But after recalling some of the well-known authors on university lists, we still felt our darts had been properly directed. We reminded our West Coast colleague of a half dozen books in the "popular" field—all authored by fairly "good" names and published by university presses—which received a fraction of the review space they merited. Hadn't he heard about Paul Sears' *Deserts on the March* and *This is Our World*. Both these books—published by the University of Oklahoma—were among the most important interpretations of science for the layman, yet both were disregarded or listed perfunctorily by many reviewers. And what about Harry Elmer Barnes' *A History of Historical Writing*, published a year ago by the same press? Or Marquis Childs' *Sweden: The Middle Way*—a Yale book which was a best-seller despite the comparative paucity of review space it received? Or Stanford University's *Hoover Library on War*,

Revolution and Peace? And what about North Carolina's *Southern Regions*, by Howard Odum—out of which the President's committee on the South drew a large part of its report? What were the reviewers doing when these and dozens of other deserving university books were published?

THE current publishing lists of the universities offer still more evidence that books of strong general appeal by well-known authors are not monopolized by commercial publishers. Examining the most important new university books, we find names such as David Lloyd George, Herbert Harris, Robert S. Lynd, R. C. Beatty; subjects as universal as biography, adventure, health, nature, history in the making.

Yale University's outstanding current title is *Memoirs of the Peace Conference* by David Lloyd George, a two-volume pandect on the history that was made at Versailles. The work, in

University Press Books Reviewed in This Issue

BOOK	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER	PRICE
<i>Memoirs of the Peace Conference</i>	David Lloyd George	Yale University Press	\$10.00
<i>American Labor</i>	Herbert Harris	Yale University Press	3.75
<i>A Short History of International Affairs</i>	G. M. Gathorne-Hardy	Oxford University Press	3.50
<i>The Refugee in the United States</i>	Harold Fields	Oxford University Press	2.50
<i>Lord Macaulay</i>	Richmond Croom Beatty	University of Oklahoma Press	3.00
<i>The Social and Political Doctrines of Contemporary Europe</i>	M. Oakeshott	Cambridge University Press	3.50
<i>Health at Fifty</i>	Dr. William H. Robey	Harvard University Press	3.00
<i>Figures and Features of the Past</i>	V. I. Gurko	Stanford University Press	6.00
<i>The Golden Plover and Other Birds</i>	Arthur A. Allen	Cornell University Press (Comstock Publishing Co.)	3.00
<i>The Brandeis Way</i>	Alpheus Thomas Mason	Princeton University Press	3.00
<i>Chaereas and Callirhoe</i>	Warren E. Blake	University of Michigan Press	2.00
<i>Jamestown and St. Mary's</i>	Henry C. Forman	Johns Hopkins Press	4.50

effect, is an elongated epilogue to his six-volume survey of the World War in *War Memoirs of David Lloyd George*. Like an endless spool, these memoirs have been spinning out for half a dozen years. Thus far, including both sets, almost two million words have been run off the spool; is the story finally complete? Technically, yes. The entire war—from beginning to “peace” settlement—is covered in the two sets, but it would be a rash prediction that would have Lloyd George stop here. For just as Versailles grew out of the war, so have the events of the last twenty years largely been shaped by what happened in the Hall of Mirrors in 1919. And since Lloyd George, who was a central figure at Versailles—has never dropped completely his role as a history-maker, we may expect that there is much more thread yet to be unwound.

Memoirs of the Peace Conference should read like something out of a dim and detached past; like something that happened long enough ago so that we moderns should possess that much-desired and amorphous quality known as the historical perspective in relation to it.

It should read like that—but it doesn't. It may not read like the day before yesterday but it is at least the day before Munich. The issues that rumbled through the hall at Versailles are rumbling again today: German aggression, Palestine, colonies, armaments, minorities. Most of the personalities have passed on—with the notable exception of Lloyd George himself—but the problems they fought over—and thought they settled—are still with us.

Why?

They are with us, says Lloyd George, because European “statesmen” fumbled and bungled and blundered almost endlessly. Contrary to their pledge, they did not follow Germany's example once the Reich disarmed. Nor did they, “in one case after another,” come to the aid of weak League members who were being threatened or attacked by larger nations. They have not—and Lloyd George places emphasis upon this point—lived up to their obligations as respecters of minority rights as promised in the Peace Settlement.

In telling the full story of what happened at the Peace Conference, Lloyd George has not muted his horn in the slightest; it still blares with the same intensity and even on the same

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pitch as it did two decades ago. He still feels that Wilhelm II was personally responsible for what have been called Germany's crimes against international morality, though he now denies ever inspiring or supporting the movement to “Hang the Kaiser.” He is still bitter about many of the principals who participated in the Conference, just as in his *War Memoirs* he was bitter about many military leaders, including General Pershing.* Thus he still regards Poincare as a com-

monplace, rather tricky and comparatively dull-minded little man whose implacable hatred for Germany was largely responsible for the extreme measures taken against the Reich. Poincare is therefore “the true creator of modern Germany with its great and growing armaments, and should this end in another conflict, the catastrophe will have been engineered by him. His

* In Volume V of his *War Memoirs*, Lloyd George sharply criticized General Pershing for insisting that the American Army be operated as an autonomous unit.

The most important inside story of the Peace of Versailles that can ever be written

Memoirs of the Peace Conference

By
DAVID
LLOYD
GEORGE



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By HERBERT HARRIS

"The most readable and reliable one-volume history of the American labor movement yet produced."—*N. Y. Herald Tribune*. "A keen book, written with verve and drive . . . much better than anything else in the field . . . human and sympathetic."—*The New Republic*. *Illustrated* \$3.75

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YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS
New Haven, Connecticut

dead hand lies heavy on Europe today."

There are relatively kind words for Clemenceau and Wilson, but even here there are reservations. Clemenceau was an obstructionist at times; Wilson was an "idealist who at first regarded himself as a missionary whose function it was to rescue the poor European heathen from their age-long worship of false and fiery gods."

As pointed and sharp as are his personality sketches in this volume, so are his observations of the events at the Conference lucid and trenchant. Every important detail of Versailles is here recorded and interpreted. The fact that *Memoirs of the Peace Conference* is a personal narrative does not detract from but adds to its significance as an historical record.

THE most important book on Yale's winter list was *American Labor*, by Herbert Harris, an expansion of a series of articles which appeared under the same title in *Current History* a year ago. Already described in several reviews as the best one-volume history of American labor yet published, Mr. Harris' book does two things: it provides a broad general view of American labor as a movement, and contains individual histories of the largest unions.

American Labor is timely and enlightening reading. It furnishes the background necessary for a competent understanding of labor today.

THE University of Oklahoma's leading new book is *Lord Macaulay* by Richmond Croom Beatty, author of *William Byrd of Westover*. In publishing this work, Oklahoma has put in its bid for the outstanding biography of the year. Burton Rascoe, one of the members of *Current History's* Literary Advisory Board, recently nominated the work for the Pulitzer Prize.

Mr. Beatty, about whose ability as a biographer there can be no doubt—he is one of the top-ranking Southern writers—has chosen as his subject one of the most colorful "liberals" of the nineteenth century. The quotation marks are prompted by the author's own remarks about the word:

"The term liberal has been handled so often it seems today almost too slippery to take hold of. . . . This formerly nice word has become suspect through long sorting with questionable company."

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Macaulay's nineteenth-century type of liberalism consisted of the sanctity of property, dominance of the middle class, freedom of trade and enterprise, and abolition of slavery. But it was not the Jeffersonian or Paine-ian type of liberalism. In fact, Macaulay had a contempt for American democracy. He said he was convinced that purely democratic institutions must destroy—sooner or later—liberty or civilization, or both. He felt that America could afford democracy only until her physical development was completed. He predicted that when our last frontiers disappeared we, like England, would be faced with a population problem and find it necessary to discard democracy: "Wages will be low [as England's] and will fluctuate as much with you as with us. . . . How will you pass through it? I cannot help foreboding the worst."

It has remained for an American to contribute the best-rounded biography of England's "Great Whig" since George Otto Trevelyan wrote his Macaulay's *Life and Letters* more than sixty years ago. Macaulay emerges from this book as a brilliant, hard-minded and somewhat smug exponent of aristocrat rule. Mr. Beatty believes his subject never quite thought things all the way through:

"Macaulay never paused to consider what would inevitably happen to the restrictions hedging his sacred ballot once a sufficient number of the 'lower orders' had become well enough informed to use it with tolerably good sense. . . . On that doctrine which identified the well-being of his class with the well-being of the nation he took his stand, nor did he ever desert it."

Thomas Babington Macaulay—statesman, lawyer, author of *History of England*—has found a fair, careful, considerate, though not necessarily sympathetic biographer in Richmond Beatty, whose book is richly flavored and beautifully written.

THE "we or they" question so frequently the subject of books these last few years apparently has been the inspiration for *The Social and Political Doctrines of Contemporary Europe*, by Michael Oakeshott, published by the Cambridge University Press. The plan for the book was suggested by Ernest Barker, author of *The Citizen's Choice*, which presented the case for democracy as against dictatorship. Mr. Barker suggested a collection in one volume of

the basic and most important documents of social thought. Out of that suggestion has come a handbook of social and political philosophy.

This book deals with fundamentals in a way that will please those who are tired of bubbly discussions on this theory or that and who want, in reference form, one volume which will enable them to consult source material. Thus, *The Social and Political Doctrines of Contemporary Europe* contains not only important extracts from *Mein Kampf* and *Lenin's State and Revolution*, but legislative texts which give such doctrines added meaning. Divided into five main chapters, each of which is devoted to a separate school of political thought—Representative Democracy, Catholicism, Communism, Facism, and National Socialism—the book contains leading doctrines and documents of each.

OXFORD University Press' *A Short History of International Affairs*, by G. M. Gathorne-Hardy, published in 1934, has been revised and brought up to date. The current volume presents a summary of events from 1920 up to the fall of last year. The Czechoslovakian crisis is covered in a post-

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script. "I have had to pluck my material from the blazing fires of contemporary controversy, over which not even the thinnest crust of dead embers has had time to cool," says the author in his preface to the new edition. But he has been signally successful in giving his book an atmosphere of detachment and calm, measured judgment.

The years from 1930 to 1938, says Mr. Gathorne-Hardy, whose book is issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, represent the "period of collapse," although in the earlier edition he referred to 1930-1934 as the "period of crisis." For the last few years have convinced him that the crisis has come to a head:

"To call this any longer the 'Post-War Era' would savor of bitter irony. War has already broken out in the east and in the west, while many nations still technically at peace are enjoying only the immunity of the victim who surrenders his property with the bandit's pistol at his head."

Looking back through the events recorded in this volume, he remarks (as did Hamilton Fish Armstrong in his *When There is No Peace*) at the appropriateness of the Biblical sayings of Jeremiah: "They have seduced my people, saying, 'Peace; and there was no peace.'"

The value of *A Short History of International Affairs* is that it sews together into one coherent pattern the many divergent strands of recent history.

ANOTHER important and recent Oxford book is Harold Fields' *The Refugee in the United States*—a pertinent and authoritative discussion of a subject which has caused so much recent controversy. Mr. Fields, director of the National League for American Citizenship and an official of the New York City Board of Education, has been a specialist on immigration problems for twenty years. His long familiarity with the problem has convinced him that partisan viewpoints about the refugee are exaggerated. On the one hand are those who regard all immigrants as subversive aliens and therefore undesirable; while on the other are those who regard all immigrants as bearers of intellectual wealth who are culturally and economically assimilated with ease. It is the middle ground between these extremes that Mr. Fields, who

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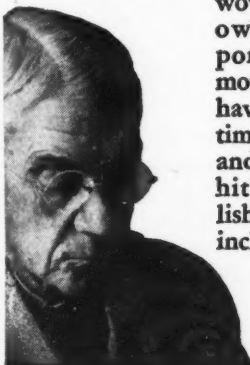
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WITH LETTERS

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has buttressed his book with a wealth of supporting statistical data, explores in this book.

The Refugee in the United States lays the basis for a sensible American policy towards those who turn to us for their ideological and even economic salvation.

ALPHEUS THOMAS MASON, a professor of politics at Princeton University, has for a number of years been interested in the career and philosophy of Louis D. Brandeis, recently resigned as Justice of the Supreme Court. Six years ago he wrote *Brandeis: Lawyer and Judge in the Modern State*, a semi-biographical tribute to the famed jurist, analyzing his legal and judicial career. The book sold more than 50,000 copies, an extraordinary record considering that 2,000 is a good sale for a non-fiction book. Mr. Mason has again written about the former justice. His new book is called *The Brandeis Way: A Case Study in the Workings of Democracy*.

Mr. Mason believes that Louis D. Brandeis represents, as did Thomas Jefferson, the closest approach to the true "American democratic way." The former justice, says the author, has concerned himself with the problem of how best to build and adapt our institutions and laws to meet the special requirements of the machine age, yet "retaining the human-economic values implicit in laissez-faire, democracy and individualism." No man of our generation has "created so successfully the social and legal devices competent to solve hard American problems."

As a specific example of the "Brandeis way," Mr. Mason discusses in detail—and this is the brunt of the book—the life insurance reforms which Mr. Brandeis brought about almost single-handedly in Massachusetts thirty years ago. His fight is proof, declares Mr. Mason, that democracy can and does work if given intelligent and courageous leadership. Such leadership, he adds, is not only the "safeguard of democratic institutions which so-called conservatives would overthrow in purblind desperation to maintain their power immune from progress," but the "salvation of private business enterprise."

THE Cornell University Press, which is at the head of the nature publishing field—collegiate or commercial—has changed its imprint for books of this type to the Comstock Press as a memorial to two great Cornell-

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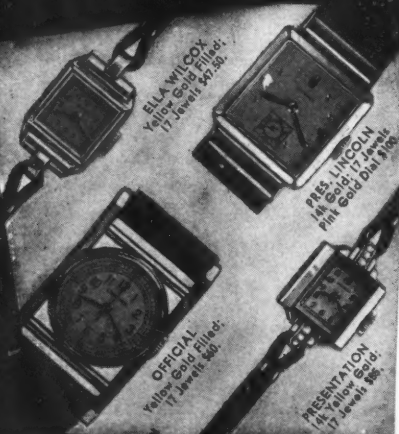
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ians who devoted their careers to nature study, Professor and Mrs. J. H. Comstock. The latest and most important of the Comstock nature books is *The Golden Plover and Other Birds*, by Arthur A. Allen, another in the author's popular "bird biography" series.

Mr. Allen has not written the conventional type of bird-study book. *The Golden Plover* is the result of his own observations from travels all over the country. He has illustrated his book with more than 200 action photographs of North American birds. In addition, the book contains color plates of seven paintings by Dr. George Miksch Sutton, noted bird artist. Illustrations and content are brightly and colorfully presented.

The Comstock Press, incidentally, has just brought out a new, revised edition of the famous *Handbook of Nature Study* by Mrs. J. H. Comstock.

ONE of the most Herculean and important undertakings in modern publishing is the Hoover Library on War, Revolution and Peace. Published by the Stanford University Press, the library now numbers fourteen volumes dealing extensively with significant historical events. Half the books in the series are concerned with various aspects of the World War, such as the rise of the German Empire and its collapse, Allied propaganda, treaties, China's part in the War, and relief in Belgium.

Latest in the series, No. 14, is *Features and Figures of the Past*, by Vladimir Iosifovich Gurko, a member of the Imperial Chancellery during the reign of Nicholas II. Mr. Gurko, whose father was Field Marshal in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877, has written of the old Russia—the Russia of the pre-revolutionary days of Nicholas II, 1894-1917. Mr. Gurko's purpose is to reconstruct—now that we are beginning to forget that the old Russia had a distinct personality of its own—the personalities of her leading statesmen, her political and diplomatic complexions, and her trends of public and bureaucratic thought.

Notwithstanding his personal background, Mr. Gurko is concerned only with the historical perspective and not prejudice. He finds that the revolution was the direct result of the ineptitude of Russia's leaders, who had opportunities to make important and necessary concessions and changes in the government but who closed their eyes and blindly continued to ride the old

tide. The book is excellently annotated and documented. It does for pre-revolutionary Russian history what William Henry Chamberlain's *The Russian Revolution* did for the period 1917-21. It is an historical work of the first importance.

IN 1907, Harvard University, observing that the public was becoming increasingly health conscious, began a series of free Sunday afternoon health lectures, open to all. That series has been maintained without interruption and is still in operation today. So popular have the lectures become that they are an established part of Cambridge's community life and are attended every week by large capacity audiences.

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and published by the Harvard University Press.

Consisting of twelve chapters, or lectures, the book contains clear, lucid information, explanation and advice on health problems which concern middle-aged persons: heart disease, blood pressure—low and high, underweight and overweight, eye-trouble, diet, etc. A sharp warning is underlined in all chapters against misleading advertising of "purely commercial remedies, the unwarranted use of the nomenclature derived from scientific discoveries, and the fraudulent claims of charlatans." The physicians contributing to this book examine and appraise recent developments in their respective fields.

OF strong literary importance is the publication by the University of Michigan of a new translation of Chariton's *Chaereas and Callirhoe*. This is the first time that the earliest romantic novel in European literature has been translated into English directly from the Greek text. Previously, the only existing English version was based on the Italian translation.

Warren E. Blake, associate professor of Greek at the University of Michigan, has succeeded through this translation in giving new life and influence to Chariton of Aphrodisia, whose works represent the only surviving novels of Greece's romantic writers. The reconstruction is clear and complete. Professor Blake has made the translation as sharp and as readable as a new work by a contemporary novelist.

The format of *Chaereas and Callirhoe* entitles it to a rating among the beautiful books of the year.

THERE is a lot of talk about America being a young, upstart continent. But here is one indication that at least and at last we have begun to adolescence. An archaeologist, Henry Chandlee Forman, has been excavating and has written a book—not about ancient Greece or Rome—but about two American cities which have virtually passed into decay: Jamestown and St. Mary's, which the author calls the "buried cities of romance."

Jamestown and St. Mary's, as his book is called, tells the story of two historic New World settlements—the manner of living, architecture, tools, art; in short, their culture and civilization.

All that remains of old Jamestown



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DAD may question. In his lifetime he's seen electric lights replace oil lamps; the widespread installation of sanitary plumbing and central heating. He's seen the growth of automobile and radio, of airplane, motion picture, and electric refrigerator. Dad, wondering whether we can keep up this pace, sometimes finds it hard to share his son's confidence in the future.

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today are the ruins of a church tower; all that remains of St. Mary's are the frames of a few buildings. The other historic landmarks have settled into the soil. It is from these ruins that Mr. Forman has drawn his material.

Mr. Forman, former head of the architectural unit of the government's archaeological project at Jamestown, combines in this book the results of his official and personal investigations into the early life of the two cities. The work is illustrated with hundreds of the author's sketches and maps. In addition, it contains numerous halftone photographs.

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SAVING DEMOCRACY

AN EDITORIAL BY M. E. TRACY

HAS it become necessary to save democracy abroad in order to save it for ourselves? Will the policy we are now pursuing, as well as the circumstances that have shaped it, force us to recognize the real frontier as on the Rhine? Are we mobilizing our resources, our industries and our man power with a view to the possibility of participation in another European war?

We shy at accepting such prospects as inevitable. They are too disagreeable; too repugnant to our traditions; too close to the bitter disappointment we suffered as a result of our last adventure in Europe. We prefer to contemplate the armament program now in progress as purely defensive; as a bold gesture that may prevent conflict; as an undertaking that promises to help business and increase work. But that, too, is repugnant to our traditions and contrary to our ideals. We do not want prosperity through the manufacture of war gear. We do not believe that we are threatened with immediate and formidable attack from any quarter. On the other hand, we realize how easy it is for people to find excuses for offensive action once they have been sold on the necessity of strong defense.

The time has come to be frank, particularly with ourselves. We are arming to an extent unprecedented in time of peace: building battleships, ordering airplanes, increasing our military force, coordinating our industries. We are doing all this because of a growing conviction that democracy is threatened; because dictatorships are maneuvering and arming to weaken, if not destroy, it wherever they can. We are alarmed at what may happen.

The alternative of a "splendid isolation" is not so simple as many seem to think, or so certain to bring about the desired results. Suppose we were to scrap our armament program, our moral support of European democracies. Suppose the British Empire were to fall apart and the French were to go down before the ring of steel with which they are now being surrounded. What then? Then we would face the music alone.

Even so, we might still be safe from physical attack, but would we be safe from the subtler influences and pressures of a triumphant totalitarianism? Already, there are those among us who seem to be intrigued by the success of dictatorship; already, there are those who think that we could do worse than borrow ideas from Communism, Fas-

cism, and Nazism. Of equally vicious import, there are those who, while opposed to foreign *isms* of every sort, believe that we should fight fire with fire, censorship with censorship, suppression with suppression.

Obviously we cannot pursue any of these courses; cannot imitate the dictators or fight them with their own weapons without undermining the foundations of democratic government. No matter how it hurts, how much trouble it causes, how definitely it tries our patience, we must stand by the essential American traditions. If we do not, we risk losing the very thing we are attempting to save.

It is hard to stand quietly by while people preach, proselyte, organize, and collect funds in behalf of this or that foreign *ism*. It is even harder to maintain a tolerant attitude when they strut about in uniforms as though their work were of military significance. These irritating parades and cells of disturbance tempt us to forget the past and adopt measures to break them up, even at the risk of abridging basic rights.

We face a very critical situation in this particular respect. There never was a moment in our history when we needed to stand so sturdily by the American system; when we needed to remember how our forefathers handled similar situations and with what marked success. In principle, we are going through what they went through on many an occasion. They not only believed in giving calves rope but they proved its efficacy. They believed that crackpot or even vicious ideas would soon evaporate if allowed an open road. New York City gave a vivid and convincing demonstration of how this works by the way it handled that much advertised German-American Bund meeting some weeks ago.

Whether or not it becomes necessary for the United States to assist European democracies in their struggle for existence, the American people must adopt an unyielding attitude toward the preservation of those principles and ideals on which their government rests. That is the first and most important task they face. Under no circumstances can they afford to modify or abandon the basic rights of constitutional democracy. Under no circumstances can they afford to pay dictatorship the compliments of imitating its methods. Saving democracy includes its preservation at home.



BLACK OUT

« History in the Making »

MORTALLY stabbed at Munich last September, the 20-year-old Republic of Czechoslovakia died peacefully on March 15th, leaving Adolf Hitler undisputed master of Central Europe. As 200,000 German troops marched into Bohemia to occupy the Western Czech provinces of Bohemia and Moravia, three other armies converged upon what a year ago was a rich and happy nation.

Despite long range forecasts made last October that the nation could not long remain free from Berlin, the end of Czechoslovakia came suddenly. What happened was the quiet detachment of the backward and barren territory of Slovakia in the very center of the long segmented state. Slovakia adjoined Bohemia and Moravia on the west and Carpatho-Ukraine, or Ruthenia, on the east. The Slovaks, granted autonomy, had been suddenly stirred up by Nazi agents to demand complete independence. But this status, obviously, was impractical, inasmuch as the Slovaks had to depend on the Czechs for both financial and military support. Consequently, with the surprise declaration of independence, Slovakia immediately was merged with the Reich. After that, Bohemia was quickly placed under Germany with the status of "a protectorate." At the announcement that German troops had begun to march into the very heart of ancient Czech territory—a fertile land temporarily spared at Munich through the "appeasement policy" of France and England—church bells began to toll the death knell for the little country that had been born out of the World War.

Reactions in Europe

WITH the nation taken virtually unaware, Hungarian troops immediately marched into the Carpatho-Ukraine to within 16 miles of the Polish border. This move paved the way for a common Polish-Hungarian frontier. Meanwhile, Polish Foreign Minister Josef Beck conferred with the Envoys of Rumania and Poland over

reports that a Rumanian army had marched into villages in the eastern part of the Carpatho-Ukraine. The Hungarian-Polish border, which Hitler had forbidden last fall, did not seem to bother him as he prepared to take over the rest of the prostrate nation. He no longer considered it a barrier on his march to the east into the Russian Ukraine, which he has long coveted as the bread basket of Europe.

The Czechs themselves, stunned over their betrayal at Munich, were even more dazed at the sudden turn of events in mid-March. But that they will not take German rule lying down was indicated by underground mumblings and threats of terrorism. Realizing that the Czechs might attempt to strike back at the invading hordes of grey-green German troops, radios blared every five minutes with orders from the Czech President, Dr. Emil Hacha, urging that not the slightest resistance be shown, as that would bring "most unforeseen consequences and the Germans would intervene with utter brutality."

Meantime, London and Paris looked on with calm unconcern. Two nights before Lord Halifax had expressed the

British official view of Hitler's projected conquest by saying, quite unnecessarily, that "England has washed its hands of Czechoslovakia," forgetful of the fact that London had done just that even before Munich. Paris took the same attitude, not wishing to stir up any unnecessary ill-feeling in the west with the Mediterranean question now apparently about to be brought to a boil.

In the United States, where the Czech declaration of independence was written at Pittsburgh, in a way making this nation a sort of foster father to the little democracy, there was a general feeling of sorrow.

The Economic "Method"

"**T**HERE are many methods short of war, but stronger and more effective than mere words, of bringing home to aggressor governments the aggregate sentiments of our people," said President Roosevelt last January.

Immediately following the Nazi aggression against Czechoslovakia in mid-March, one such "method" was put into operation. It was a duty increase of 25 per cent on all "subsidized" and dutiable imports from Ger-

Hitler on the March

SIX years ago Adolf Hitler became Chancellor of a Germany that numbered about 67,000,000 persons in a territory of 181,500 square miles. Since then his Nazi Juggernaut has added almost 25,000,000 people and 75,000 square miles.

In order, this is what has been brought within German rule:

Saar Basin: (By plebiscite) Area, 738 square miles. Population, 826,000. Chief resources: Coal, iron steel, heavy goods. *Date of absorption: March 1, 1935.*

Austria: Area, 32,369 square miles. Population, 6,759,000. Chief resources: Iron, copper, lead, lumber, small manufactures, agriculture. *Date of absorption: March 13, 1938.*

Sudetenland: Area, 10,885 square miles. Population 3,595,000. Chief resources: Coal and iron deposits, china, textile, crockery, chemical industries. *Date of absorption: October 1, 1938.*

Czechia and Slovakia: Area, 30,000 square miles. Population, 13,000,000. Chief resources: Iron ore, coal, lead, silver, gold deposits, automobile factories, breweries (Pilsen), the Skoda and four other large munitions plants. *Date of absorption: March 15, 1939.*

many. Although Washington has refused to recognize the new status of Czechoslovakia, all imports from that territory fall under the new ruling, as do goods from Ruthenia, annexed by Hungary.

Announcement of the new levy, made within a few days after Germany marched into Prague, was generally interpreted as the official reaction here to the German conquest. According to some reports, however, the decision to boost the duty had been made almost a week before the seizure.

In order to exempt any import from the increased duty, Germany must prove that its exporters have not been aided financially—directly or indirectly—by the government.

Last year, the United States bought \$65,000,000 worth of goods from Germany, but sold her goods amounting to \$108,000,000.

Worried Rumania

THE two countries most worried over the collapse of Czechoslovakia were Rumania and Poland. Hitler had destroyed the only force between Berlin and the Danube which could be thrown against him in another war. He had warned King Carol last autumn that he would be in Bucharest by spring. To Rumania, Hitler's program was working as though by clock work.

With Nazi Germany controlling Europe from the Baltic down to within a few miles of the Adriatic, the surrounding countries had good cause for jittery nerves. Hungary, rather than Rumania, was given the spoils of Ruthenia, thus leading many foreign observers to the conclusion that Rumania was next on Hitler's list.

It would be no difficult task to stir up trouble in King Carol's country. The minority question—always an irksome one in Balkan countries—could easily be brought to a head. For in Rumania over half the population of some 20,000,000 is made up of Hungarians (1,500,000), Germans (800,000), Ukrainians (1,300,000), Bulgars (500,000), as well as Greeks, Turks and Jews. The seeds of disintegration are already there; with a little watering of Nazi propaganda they could easily flower into another Sudeten crisis.

Actually, however, by mid-March Hitler was to all intents and purposes the master of south-eastern Europe. For Germany now controls the immense network of railways that serve the Balkans. The Danube is under Ger-

This government founded upon and dedicated to the principles of human liberty and of democracy cannot refrain from making known this country's condemnation of the acts which have resulted in the temporary extinguishment of the liberties of a free and independent people with whom, from the day when the republic of Czechoslovakia attained its independence, the people of the United States have maintained especially close and friendly relations.—*Assistant Secretary of State Sumner Welles.*

man domination. Economically, Hitler's penetration into the Danubian countries has outpaced his armed forces.

Switzerland Uneasy

FOLLOWING the complete disintegration of Czechoslovakia, tension increased in Switzerland and in the Netherlands. Nazi pressure began to be felt in Berne, with Mussolini's fine hand intruding itself at intervals. Behind this was the desire of Germany and Italy to extend their common frontier to include Berne and Basle, in the event of a war with the western "democracies." Consequently, German-speaking Swiss are daily being reminded that their loyalty belongs to their Fatherland—a Fatherland including the Swiss land they now occupy.

Much the same thing is occurring in Holland, although there the anti-Nazi sentiments are stronger and more vocal. But they were equally strong and vocal in Prague not three months ago—and the fate of Prague is now a matter of record. Further, after what has happened to Czechoslovakia, neither Switzerland nor Holland places much faith in English or French aid should Hitler become more aggressive.

Switch in Britain

IN Great Britain, Prime Minister Chamberlain's masterly bit of understatement to the effect that Hitler's gobble of Czechoslovakia "was hardly in the spirit of Munich" provoked even his Tory supporters. It soon became evident that Britain's foreign policy could no longer with impunity run contrary to public feeling. The first indication of a possible new trend was the recalling of Sir Neville Henderson, Ambassador to Germany. At the same time, a proposed British trade mission

to Berlin was called off, with the itinerary of the mission switched at the last moment to Baltic capitals and Russia.

An ironical twist in affairs was indicated by persistent reports that in the near future Chamberlain would advocate closer cooperation with Soviet Russia as well as the United States. For it was immediately recalled that the Czecho-Russo alliance was one of the prime reasons for the Czech downfall—and one of Chamberlain's major excuses for not taking a stronger stand at Munich was the fear that in the event of war Great Britain would find itself fighting side by side with Russia.

Far East Tension

EVENTS in Europe have clouded the troubles in the Far East; yet a quick glance at that quarter reveals considerable tension. Border clashes along the Siberia-Manchukuo frontier are increasing. At the same time, Tokyo regards an OGPU army on North Saghalien Island with deep suspicion. The treaty of Portsmouth, which ended the Russo-Japanese war and divided Saghalien between Russia and Japan, stipulates that no armed force be stationed in the island's North, held by Russia, or the South, belonging to Japan. The presence of a Soviet army of 5,000 men on the island is reported. To oppose them, Japan has but 600 gendarmes in its entire southern section. With relations between Tokyo and Moscow already near the breaking point over the Soviet refusal to renew the Japanese fishing rights in Soviet waters (also provided for in the Portsmouth treaty) the situation portends no good.

Meanwhile, Tokyo is attempting further to smooth out the terrorist tangle in Shanghai, which last month almost precipitated serious clashes between Japanese and Occidental troops in the International Settlement and French Concession. Tokio accused the authorities there of harboring anti-Japanese cut-throats and bombers who have assassinated 17 Chinese leaders sympathetic to Japan's program in China. There was a threat that Japan would take over the concessions if terrorism was not stopped. Tokyo was pleased, therefore, when Washington and London made identical protests to the Chinese National Government in Chungking against the encouragement of political terrorism, warning that tension in Shanghai was increasingly precarious to all concerned. It was the first rebuke Chiang had received from Washington or London.

Anger in Japan

DECLARING that the war in China would never end while Great Britain continued to support Chiang Kai-shek, a demand has been voiced in the Japanese Diet that a vigorous protest or retaliation be made against Great Britain for a \$25,000,000 loan to China in March. All Japanese views of Britain's policy in the Far East start with the assumption that Japan has won the war. Tokyo is bewildered by London's refusal to acknowledge that the future of her trade and enterprise in China depends on Japanese good will. The British loan, following by three months a \$25,000,000 credit extended to Chiang by the Export-Import Bank of the United States, has caused considerable anger in Japan. The American loan was regarded as a political slap at Tokyo for the closing of the Open Door. Japan was angered then, too, but did not express open resentment, for Tokyo felt that Washington was being employed once more as London's cat's paw in the Orient.

The facts revealed in Washington are these: As long ago as last September, Chiang was turned down when he sent Chen Kuan-Pu to seek funds in America. Chen then went begging to London. London's answer was "No" aloud; but secretly a large indirect credit was extended to China through which supplies could be purchased by Russia and shipped across Europe to Chiang. This was costly and unsatisfactory. But Britain's stake in China is a billion and a half dollars, ten times that of the United States, and she could not afford to lose it. London concluded that America had less to lose if a loan to China should rebound and Washington was approached on the matter by secret British agents. They discussed the situation with Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau, who, in turn, talked the matter over with President Roosevelt. The result was the American loan, the wisdom of which is still a point of hot dispute among foreign affairs experts.

Gandhi's Fast

MAHATMA GANDHI, spiritual leader of India's millions, has moved India a step nearer to freedom. He had demanded democratic reforms from the young autocratic ruler of the native State of Rajkot, a small principality in Western India. When the ruler, Thakore Saheb Shri Dharmendrasinhji, resisted the demands,

A QUARTER-CENTURY OF CHANGING BOUNDARIES



N. Y. Times

Germany's area and population are even greater today than they were at the height of her power in 1914, just before the World War.

Gandhi felt the urge of the "Divine Will" to undertake a fast.

After four days, and when Gandhi verged close to death, the Mahatma won when the British Viceroy, the Marquis of Linlithgow, intervened, compelling the ruler of Rajkot to grant the reforms demanded.

A few days later, Gandhi won a second victory when the All-India Congress curtailed the powers of President Subhas Chandra Bose, whose radical policies are violently opposed by Gandhi. Bose, a Cambridge graduate, with a leaning toward Communism, was backed by the Left Wing of the Nationalist Party in his demand for immediate independence for India. In his opinion, immediate independence can be secured by terror only. Gandhi, who wants India to be prepared to hold her independence when that teeming country does achieve it, urges a "go-slow" tactic. He favors the English Parliament Act of 1935 which grants India self-government in all matters except finance, defense, and foreign policy.

Britain continues to worry about Gandhi's health, fearing that, if he should die, the terroristic tactics of Bose, which Gandhi has curbed, may become a reality.

F.D.R. Still in the Saddle

ANTI-NEW DEALERS were greatly encouraged by what happened last summer and fall. They took the Republican gains in the November election and the President's failure to purge his own party as sure signs that the tide was turning. Republicans and conservative Democrats came to Washington last January with the light of battle in their eyes. They were out for reform and retrenchment with a vengeance.

There was no coalition, you understand, but just a meeting of minds—minds like those of Senators Glass and Byrd of Virginia, of Bennett Champ Clark of Missouri, of Adams of Colorado, of Garner and Woodrum on the Democratic side; like those of Senator Bridges of Vermont, Vandenberg of Michigan, and Hiram Johnson

of California on the Republican side. There was to be a drive for economy, a crusade to balance the budget, to relieve business, to stop borrowing and spending.

Well, it didn't work out quite the way some of the more ardent forecasters predicted. Once back in their soft seats on Capitol Hill, the boys soon discovered that F.D.R. was still in the White House and that, while he was willing to swap pleasantries, he was as obstinate as any of his Dutch uncles about carrying out his program. The economy bloc succeeded in lopping off \$3,550,000 from the general deficiency bill, a saving of 26 per cent; in reducing the Independent Offices Bill by nearly \$22,000,000, a saving of approximately one per cent; and in cutting the salaries of civil aeronautics authority members from \$12,000 to \$10,000, a saving of 20 per cent. Their greatest triumph, however, came when they refused the President's request for \$875,000,000 as an emergency appropriation in behalf of W.P.A., giving him only \$725,000,000, a saving of 17 per cent.

But all this looks like small potatoes when one considers the vast appropriations that have been made and that are likely to be made before Congress is through. Even the \$150,000,000 that Congress denied W.P.A. seems likely to be restored. At all events, the President requested its restoration in his message of March 14th.

Dare and Double-Dare

THE President did not mince words in his latest request for that \$150,000,000. Conditions had not changed since the first of the year, he said. If it were not granted, somewhat more than a million persons would have to be laid off by the W.P.A.: 400,000 immediately, 600,000 the first of May, and 200,000 between then and June 30th. He expressed doubt as to whether such a course would add to the country's prosperity. At any rate, he did not care to assume the responsibility for taking it, and he was therefore tossing the problem back to Congress.

Congress was not happy over this economy chicken that came home to roost. Even the hardest-boiled retrenchers found it necessary to swallow the President's blunt statement borrowed from the late Grover Cleveland, "We face a condition, not a theory." They may suspect that the condition is the result of a theory, but that does

Guam

GUAM, a pin-point 7,000 miles away from the United States and surrounded by 1,450 other pin-points which comprise some of the Japanese Mandate Islands, today is a dot of land rising out of a black sea of doubt. Its primary claim to the spotlight of recent years is that, as the largest of the Mariana Archipelago (the Ladrone Islands), it is the last hop-off base for the Clipper planes on their westward wing to Manila, 1,500 miles further toward Asia.

Present proposals to fortify Guam have caused considerable alarm. In Japan, to whom the Guam defense plan can mean but one thing—a direct and deliberate threat—there are two distinct views on the subject. Development of the Guam base would place American guns and battleships into the very midst of the Japanese Mandated Islands, many of which have undergone harbor, port and landing field developments but which, so far as is known, are not fortified, in accordance with the Versailles treaty that ceded them from Germany. Saipan is but 90 miles from Guam and is one of the best natural bases that Japan has in the Marianas. Not far off are the strategically important Japanese islands of Yap (over which Washington and Tokyo disagreed violently as to ownership some years ago), Truk, Palau, Ponape, Jaluit, Rota, Wotje, and the fortified Bonin Islands. Furthermore, since Guam is but 1,300 miles from Yokohama—almost 1,000 miles closer than Hawaii is to San Francisco—there has grown up a natural fear among certain Japanese elements that the United States has more than evil designs on Japan and quite possibly on China itself. The usually cool-headed vernacular Tokyo *Asabi* goes so far as to see in the Guam plan an American attempt to establish a foothold in the Western Pacific "to carry out an aggressive design against Japan while branding Japan as aggressor."

Meanwhile, the Japanese Foreign Office seems little concerned with the Guam plans, and doubts that the United States will spend the millions needed to carry them out. They recall that Tokyo already has received permission to use the well-equipped Pan-American Clipper plane facilities for a projected Tokyo-Manila and Tokyo-San Francisco airline, due to go into operation some time this Summer. Foreign Office officials point out that, if the United States had serious plans to fortify Guam, this permission would never have been granted, as the topography of the island would become too well known to Japanese fliers and therefore quite useless as the site for strong secret fortifications. —Condensed from *The Living Age*.

not remove it as a fact. Neither does it remove the challenge to throw more than a million people out of work for the sake of another theory.

Deeper Into the Red

THE economy crusade has struck several tougher snags than that item of \$150,000,000 for W.P.A. Among others, it has struck a tremendous defense program, an ambitious housing program, and a badly jammed agricultural program.

The prospect for a balanced budget, reduced taxes and stabilized debt goes glimmering. Some time ago, while Secretary Morgenthau was testifying before a Senate sub-committee, he remarked that a Federal debt of at least \$50,000,000 was on the way. Wishful dreamers set up a great clamor, but those of a practical turn of mind accepted this grim outlook with the best grace they could; they knew Mr. Morgenthau was putting it conservatively. Whatever else may be said of it, the New Deal rests definitely on the idea of recovery through borrowing and spending. Borrowing and spending will continue as long as the New Deal remains in power and probably for a long time afterward, for precedents have been set, programs have been launched, and obligations have been created which no administration could immediately disregard.

Meanwhile, Congress has set the debt limit at \$45,000,000,000. What is it going to do if, as, and when the debt goes beyond that limit? Will it establish a higher limit, or will it copy the style of those governments which wage war without declaring it?

Billions for Defense

GOOD-NATURED Congressmen still talk about our tremendous rearmament program as purely defensive, as entirely disassociated from our foreign policy, as a measure of preparedness against possible invasion, and as having little or nothing to do with the idea of balking Europeans unless or until they come over here. Still they approve the program: 6,000 airplanes for the army alone, and nearly \$800,000,000 for the navy, including more than \$50,000,000 for the establishment or improvement of naval bases, not to mention a lot of other items. To illustrate the speed with which the rearmament program is being rushed, the astronomical figures it involves, and the way it is being woven into our foreign policy—particularly the Monroe Doc-



Collective Bargaining

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

trine—here are a few matters that were being considered on March 15th:

1) The Senate Naval Affairs Committee ended hearings on the Naval, Air, and Submarine Base Bill which would authorize \$65,000,000 to be spent on new bases or the improvement of old ones.

2) The House Naval Affairs Committee reported on authorization of more than \$38,500,000 for dry docks, ordinance depots, and so on.

3) The House Military Affairs Committee considered the expenditure of \$100,000,000, with a four-year period to build up a stock of needed metals and materials which this country must purchase from abroad.

4) A grand row was in the making over Senator Pittman's resolution to permit the construction of warships for Latin American republics by our navy yards.

5) The proposal to spend \$5,000,000 for "improving" the harbor at Guam, which Congress had previously squashed, appeared due for resurrection.

Business Rubs Its Eyes

TAKING is cue from many Republican and Democratic leaders, business accepted what happened last summer and fall as indicating a marked change of sentiment. It was encouraged

in this by the President's statement that reforms were finished and that from now on recovery would be the Administration's sole objective. It was further encouraged by the attitude of such important officials as Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau, Under-Secretary Hanes, and a little later on by Harry L. Hopkins, especially after he was shifted from the job of running relief to that of running the Commerce Department. His optimistic Des Moines speech of February 24th, which he took a month to prepare, came like a tonic to captains of industry as well as to small fry. Some of them looked not only for another breathing spell, but substantial relief from burdensome taxes, irksome regulations and complicated bookkeeping. They are now wondering whether they were overly optimistic.

Apparently, the Roosevelt Administration was too "sot" in its ways or too deep in its ruts for any such change as business hoped for. At any rate, on the very same day President Roosevelt made his third request for that \$150,000,000 for W.P.A., he told a press conference that Congress could not reduce revenue though it might revise some statutes. Whatever else this was intended to suggest, the country at large interpreted it as meaning that the "inner circle" of social reformers was back in the saddle; that reform persists as a cherished objective; and that



Chicago News



Richmond Times

Two cartoonists find Disney's "Ferdinand" a good vehicle for their ideas.

recovery must climb out of the mire the best way it can.

The "inner circle" is and always has been against the idea of placating business. It is against the idea of tax revision and liberalized regulation to help business. It looks upon Mr. Hopkins as a near traitor, upon Morgenthau as no more than should have been expected from a man of his circumstances and upbringing, upon Hanes as just another Wall-Streeter. It is sincerely desirous of saving the country, but just as sincerely sold on its own ideas as representing the sole method of salvation. It won't yield an inch regardless of what Morgenthau, Hanes and Hopkins say, or Pat Harrison's attitude, or the election returns last November.

Arthur Krock, Washington correspondent of *The New York Times*, sums up the situation this way:

"Mr. Morgenthau and Mr. Hanes did their best . . . Mr. Hopkins . . . boldly supported them. By the time Mr. Roosevelt returned from the Caribbean, these three had encouraged Congress to a point where thorough and effective tax revision required only the assent of the President. But just then the White House 'inner circle' got to work and, in addition to showing him a terrifying assortment of waxworks, they produced a bright new ashcan. In earlier ashcans rest the remains of Lewis W. Douglas, Dean Acheson, T. J. Coolidge, O. M. W. Sprague and all others who have either insisted upon putting recovery over reform or have disagreed with some major social economic recovery experiment. But the President has never sanctioned such a mass disposal as would be involved in similarly stowing away Messrs.

Morgenthau, Hopkins, and Hanes. Maybe it can't be done."

Labor Answers Appeal

IN his well-remembered Des Moines speech Harry L. Hopkins said: "Even with the best of good-will toward collective bargaining, business finds it difficult to progress in face of a divided labor front."

This was one suggestion that seems to have found favor at the White House. On February 25th, President Roosevelt sent letters to A.F. of L. head William Green and C.I.O. head John L. Lewis asking them to appoint committees "to negotiate terms of peace" by which unity could be established between their respective organizations. Messrs. Green and Lewis complied, of course. Refusal on their part was unthinkable. Not only the President, but the public, business and labor itself wanted the three-year-old quarrel ended. Being a glutton for work, Mr. Lewis appointed a committee, with himself as its chairman. Being a little subtler, Mr. Green appointed a committee, of which he was not a member. The committees are conferring as this is written and with some prospects of success. Their labors, however, have been interrupted by several incidents, among others a conference between coal-miners and operators of the Appalachian field. As President of the U.M.W., Mr. Lewis had to quit negotiating for peace between the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. to attempt to patch things up in the coal industry.

A Sick Man

AS a Russian Czar once said of Turkey, in this coal industry, "We

have a sick man on our hands." It lost a lot of money last year; it has been doing so for the past several years. Its trouble is oil-itis. Oil is being substituted for coal all along the line. Notwithstanding this known fact, the miners came to town with three stiff demands. First, they wanted a reduction of the working day from seven to six hours. Second, they wanted an increase of fifty cents in the daily wage. Third, they wanted a guaranty of two hundred working days during the year.

Operators rejected all these demands on the ground that it would mean a loss of \$230,000,000 next year, if existing conditions prevailed. Their counter-proposal was a reduction of the daily wage by 50 per cent. Mr. Lewis met this counter-proposal by suggesting that the present contract, expiring April 1st, be continued.

Bombshell

ON the very same day that Mr. Roosevelt sent his appeal for peace to Messrs. Green and Lewis, the Supreme Court of the United States outlawed sitdown strikes and upset Labor Board rulings in three important cases. All three decisions were by a 5 to 2 majority, with Justices Black and Reed (Roosevelt appointees) dissenting, Justice Frankfurter taking no part, and one seat vacant.

Chief Justice Hughes minced no words in expressing his opinion of the "Fansteel Metallurgical Corporation case," where the Labor Board had ordered re-employment of sitdown strikers.

"It was a high-handed proceeding without shadow of legal right," he said. "To justify such conduct because of the existence of a labor dispute or of an unfair labor practice would be to put a premium on resort to force instead of legal remedies, and to subvert the principles of law and order which lie at the foundations of society."

Commenting on this opinion, Senator Wagner, author of the Labor Act, said: "I have always stated that the sitdown strike is illegal and should never be resorted to by workers."

Most people—many labor leaders included—accept the Supreme Court's decision as one more argument in favor of modifying the Labor Act, but for some curious reason, Administration forces appear lukewarm to such a proposition. Pressure for modification of the Labor Act, however, is rapidly becoming irresistible.

Business Follows a Red Herring

The administration's gestures toward "appeasement" should be examined with considerable skepticism

By RAYMOND CLAPPER

TO UNDERSTAND what is happening in Washington in these early days of Spring, we must remember what occurred in the fall of 1937. That sudden economic collapse, I believe, changed the course of domestic politics fundamentally. Politically it was to Roosevelt what the crash of 1929 was to Hoover. In Roosevelt's case, the impact was less severe. Nevertheless, like Hoover, he was caught in a sudden national mood of disillusionment and widespread desire for a change.

Even before the economic decline which began suddenly late in 1937, the legend of Roosevelt's infallibility had been seriously impaired by his defeat in his struggle to enlarge the Supreme Court. During that battle, which lasted through the spring and summer of 1937, many of his most vocal supporters both in and out of Congress turned against him. The opposition of men like Governor Lehman of New York was bound to have an unsettling effect upon public confidence in Roosevelt's judgment. It seemed to many that the impossible had happened when the invincible man finally was beaten. Nothing is so necessary to a miracle man as success.

But this episode did not shake confidence fatally. Economic conditions were excellent. Industrial production indices stood at 110, the highest since 1929, and it was still possible for masses of persons to believe that, even if Roosevelt had been mistaken about the Supreme Court, he was correct fundamentally on the main problems. There was a disposition to overlook that defeat as one of those inevitable strikeouts that goes down occasionally on the score of the most consistent home-run slugger.

But when it was discovered that a depression could occur under the New Deal—ah, that was something different. Hoover had a depression, but that was to be expected. We had suffered depressions many times before. Under the old order we fluctuated through

Among newspapermen, Raymond Clapper is considered one of the best of the Washington correspondents. His reporting is solid, unbiased, thorough. For many years he worked semi-anonymously as a reporter in the nation's capital; several years ago he was picked by the Scripps-Howard newspapers to write a daily Washington column. Today, his column is syndicated throughout the country.

In addition to his regular work, Mr. Clapper finds time for lecturing and outside writing.

cycles. But under the New Deal, we had taken precautions to prevent that sort of thing, or at least to ease the swing of the cycle until you would scarcely notice it.

Monetary controls, experience in regulating the volume of money and credit, the pumping in of government funds to sustain mass purchasing power—these and many other safeguards which had been introduced during the first five years of the New Deal were counted upon to insure the more abundant life. The 1936 elections, occurring while economic conditions were improving, bespoke the country's confidence in what Roosevelt was doing. The Hoovers, the Liberty Leaguers, the economic royalists were still complaining. But profits were good. The New Deal seemed to have made the grade.

This mood prevailed until, without warning, the bottom fell out of the Roosevelt boom in September, 1937. Never before in our history has there been a decline so sudden and so precipitous. The New Deal had not found the answer after all. Unemployment had not been eliminated. Agricultural surpluses and prices were about as ominous as in the dark days of Hoover, although government measures did

spare the farmers the wave of foreclosures which always before had accompanied depressions. Washington still had not mastered economic forces.

Coloring the mood of disillusionment was a general disgust with the idea of government management as it was being observed abroad. I do not, to the slightest degree, mean to intimate any similarity between the New Deal and the regimes in Germany and Russia. But the general disgust with both those regimes had its effect upon American political thought. Particularly the bloody purges in Russia, and the cruelty of the dictatorship there in contrast with the ideals of Communism, were bound to make Americans more suspicious than ever of governmental power, no matter how exalted its professed motives.

Both Fascists and Communists have demonstrated before our eyes that strong governmental power is apt to degenerate into ruthless force. The effect of that is to make Americans cling more tightly to freedom, to a minimum of governmental interference, and to prefer laissez faire, with all of its evils, to regimentation. The public becomes suspicious of increased federal power.

THOSE, I think, are the principal elements which have contributed to the reversal of the political tide in America, a reversal registered in the November elections last year. Roosevelt's defeat in the Supreme Court fight was a preparatory experience. The recession of 1937-38 was a major cause. And an undercurrent was provided by the resurgence of individualism as a rebound from the horror over brutal use of government force in Europe.

As yet, I do not believe this reaction touches the large field of social reforms accomplished under the Roosevelt Administration. There is no evidence of important public demand for repeal of legislation concerning social security, minimum wages and maximum hours or the protection of in-

vestors in securities. There is no evidence of any demand for withdrawal of the federal guarantee of collective bargaining provided in the Wagner Labor Act, although there is insistent demand for modification of the enforcement machinery. So far as public opinion goes today, I believe it is thinking in general terms that Roosevelt should let up for a while, should give the country time to digest reforms already instituted, and should in every possible way assist toward encouraging recovery.

That is the background against which Washington must be viewed today.

In Washington, this analysis, I think, is accepted generally among both Democrats and Republicans in Congress. It is accepted also by some members of the President's official family. But there is some doubt that it is accepted by President Roosevelt himself, except to a certain grudging extent. He does recognize the resistance in Congress and is of necessity compelled to let up. It is not certain that he yields any further than that.

You will recall that Hoover was unmoved by the collapse in his term. At the strong urging of his advisers, he did consent to prop up banks and railroads through the RFC. But to the ghastly end, he continued to call insistently for economy and a balanced budget. He believed that recovery failed to come, not because of those policies, but partly because they were not applied with sufficient vigor and partly because of world conditions beyond our control.

Similarly, Roosevelt now does not blame his policies for the collapse of 1937. He thinks that the contraction of government expenditure shrank purchasing power too sharply. Consequently, after some hesitation early in 1938, he resumed spending as an aid to recovery. Even in his last annual message in January, he defended, as a permanent theory of government, the necessity of public spending or investment—the theory of which Chairman Marriner Eccles of the Federal Reserve Board is the most articulate exponent in Washington.

Nor has Roosevelt indicated too much concern over the Democratic losses in the last elections. Time and again to friends he has analyzed those results, state by state, and has cited local conditions in each instance to account for reverses. He has not seen in the results a tendency to repudiate his Administration. His course of action

since the election has been governed by that attitude.

When Roosevelt was asked by the press recently if he was in favor of business appeasement, he looked slightly surprised and asked what there was to appease. The word "appeasement" is in high disfavor in the White House circle. It is considered entirely out of key. Roosevelt wants business



Harry Hopkins

N. Y. Times

recovery as everyone in the Administration wants it. It is as necessary politically as it is desirable for the national welfare.

But Roosevelt is not disposed to seek recovery at the expense of his reform program. He is temperamentally opposed to any such retreat and he does not believe that concessions of that kind would produce recovery even if he were willing to sacrifice his program. He is determined not to permit the liberal stamp to be rubbed off of his Administration. In his Jackson Day address, on January 7th, he invited those Democrats whom he called Republicans at heart to leave the party and join the other party where they would be more at home. He voiced opposition to making the Democratic Party Tweedledee to the Republican Tweedledum. When he named Frank Murphy, Attorney General, he was strengthening his Cabinet by the addition of a thorough New Dealer. When he made Harry Hopkins, Secretary of Commerce, he was again strengthening his Cabinet with one of his strongest liberals.

The recovery activities of Hopkins come not so much from White House inspiration as from practical considerations as they appear to Hopkins. It can be stated as a fact that Roosevelt gave Hopkins no instructions as to how to proceed in his new post. But casting his eye around, Hopkins saw that recovery was badly needed by the country, badly needed by the Administration, and that it would be the test by which his own work as Secretary of Commerce would be judged.

Out of that situation, the present recovery drive within the Administration developed, not on orders from the top. Hopkins quickly came under the influence of business-minded people within the Administration, especially Undersecretary of the Treasury John Hanes, who came to Washington from Wall Street and who has been a moderating influence within the New Deal. Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau, an intimate and loyal friend of Roosevelt, is of the same mind. These three—Hopkins, Morgenthau and Hanes—are the champions, within the New Deal, of the idea that the Administration, for its own future, must do everything possible to recreate prosperity.

Morgenthau and Hanes have labored to win the Administration toward more economy and toward removal of taxes detrimental to business expansion. On the other side, Eccles continues to champion compensatory spending and to oppose drastic curtailment until recovery has progressed considerably beyond its present point.

As he has done so often when his advisers were divided, Roosevelt has chosen to play the middle, leaning first toward one side, then toward the other, always with a little more enthusiasm on the left side, a little greater reluctance on the right side. In the fall of 1937, he encouraged Secretary Morgenthau to make the now historic balance-the-budget speech, but within a couple of months he was veering around to spending again. In January, the President indicated to Congress that new taxes to produce perhaps \$450,000,000 in additional revenue would be needed; in February he said no new taxes were in order.

HE may be expected to support some steps designed to give business men encouragement, but he will not desert the aggressive New Dealers. He will tell Congress, as he has done already, that he is for economy if it can be effected without crippling needed government activities. Even

while lip-service is being paid by all to the objective of the economy pleas. Congress votes huge sums to be spent on the defense program.

In stimulating economic activity, there is little difference between an armament program and a public works program. So that, at the moment, Roosevelt is able to carry on large public spending in the form of rearmament. It is doubtful if he is yet convinced that our economic system can go forward without considerable government spending during the next year or so. His encouragement to economy agitation, therefore, is likely to remain perfunctory.

To expect any fundamental change of direction or of attitude on the part of Roosevelt seems to me to ignore the tenacity with which he has fought throughout his Administration. He is firmly set in his emotional attitude, extremely stubborn, and as suspicious of business as business is of him. Give in to business on one point and business will demand something else. Labor has never been satisfied in its demands on the Administration and business is not likely to be. It is not to be expected that Roosevelt at this late date will announce that he has been wrong for six years and that henceforth he will be a different man. Such things do not happen.

There will be conciliatory gestures from time to time as there have been throughout his administration. In 1935 he issued his "breathing spell" letter to Roy W. Howard. His second inaugural message was regarded as a conciliatory document in some respects. Early in 1937 he held a series of olive-branch meetings with spokesmen of big business, men like Alfred P. Sloan and Thomas W. Lamont. At no time has he changed fundamentally his course—for the reason that he does not believe his policies injure legitimate business. He would like to see business go ahead, but he believes the initiative lies largely with business. He is in no mood to bribe it. That, I believe, summarizes fairly the White House attitude.

Here and there, on special propositions, Harry Hopkins may make a sale at the White House. Morgenthau and John Hanes may make sales and obtain presidential endorsements. Too much should not be expected.

Meanwhile, the hopes of Republicans have risen rapidly in recent months; they have great expectations of a return to power in 1941. Many Democrats share these expectations

and a defeatist attitude has spread within the Democratic party. Among some, like Secretary Hopkins, this has produced a stronger determination to try to win the support and cooperation of business. Among others, it has had a different effect. For instance Robert Jackson, Solicitor General, in a recent speech told his fellow Democrats that it was 'hopeless to try to take the conservative path. If the country is in a mood for a conservative administration, it will pass the Democrats by, even if they nominate another John W. Davis, and go for the Republicans. The Democratic party, he said, only thrives when liberal government is demanded, in periods of reform. That view is widely held among Democrats and is shared, I suspect, by Roosevelt himself.

Despite its rebellious mood against the New Deal, Congress is not to be counted upon to alter the situation materially. While Senators and Representatives talk of economy, they will practice little of it. Only with the most resolute support of the White House could expenditures be materially reduced, and at the White House there is no such resolve.

Business men who follow affairs at

Washington more closely than the general public does are well aware of all this. That is why there has been only the most restrained response to the conciliatory gestures out of Washington in the last several weeks. Business men say that, if they could feel confidence, industrial activity would leap forward. They seem disposed to have no confidence until Roosevelt is out.

Around Washington you can hear New Dealers muttering: "Let them have their change. Let them put in Dewey. We saw Hoover take his place under the pile driver, promising two chickens in every pot and not realizing that it was he who would go into the pot. Maybe the Republicans will win in 1940. Well, in that case we'll watch young Dewey take over.

"He'll be smiling as Hoover was. Everything will seem rosy at first. We'll be calling it permanent recovery. Then the pile driver will come smashing down on him just as it did on Hoover.

"Maybe we New Dealers haven't found the answers. The Republicans won't know the answers either. When the country finds that out, then what will happen? That is the day we ought to dread."



What, Again!

N. Y. World-Telegram

Falcons of the Sea

When war comes, Germany's new fleet will try to starve Great Britain into quick submission

By GEORGE FIELDING ELIOT

MUCH is being written about Germany's air power, and its threat to the security of Germany's neighbors, especially Britain.

Little, so far, has been written about Germany's new navy, which under certain conditions might be just as serious a threat to Britain, especially if its operations could be combined (as they could in war) with those of the German air force.

Two months ago, Germany launched the first of her new 35,000-ton battleships, the "Bismarck," almost simultaneously with the first of Britain's new battleship fleet, the "King George V." The twin launchings evoked some newspaper comparisons of British and German naval strength, some speculation as to Germany's reason for building such ships, when, obviously, it will be many years before she can hope to match the British in numbers.

Probably she does not intend to try, at least for the present. The "Bismarck" and her sisters, when they are completed, will be able to control the Baltic against any prospective Soviet fleet, and will afford Germany some reasonable comparison with France. To overtake Britain in capital ship strength is hardly a reasonable possibility just now.

The potentialities of the German fleet as a threat to Britain lies in the development of other types of ships. It is in the study of what Germany is doing along these lines that we may derive a clearer idea of just why she is spending so much money on naval development.

At the moment, Germany's effort to maintain her air superiority is proving a grave strain on her resources. At the moment, she is desperately trying to make up, in the development of her army, for the lost training years 1919-1934—a fifteen-year gap which has put her far behind France. Why, then, should she maintain anything in the way of a navy beyond just enough to control the Baltic against Russia and perhaps a few defensive types (small

Major George Fielding Eliot, the country's leading military expert, has been widely acclaimed as the author of *The Ramparts We Watch*, published last fall. Although born in Brooklyn in 1894, he received most of his education at Melbourne University, Australia, and served during the World War with the Australian forces in the Dardanelles, Egypt, and on the Western Front. Back in America he became a Lieutenant in the Missouri National Guard and later a Major in the Military Intelligence Reserve of the U. S. Army.

Major Eliot is co-author of *If War Comes* with Major R. E. Dupuy, U.S.A., and has been an important contributor to magazines and newspapers.

submarines, minelayers and what not) for the North Sea coast?

The answer is to be found in the naval lessons of the last war, and their application by the German naval staff to their present building program.

Recently Germany announced her intention of using an "escalator" clause in her two-year-old naval agreement with Britain which permits her "under certain circumstances" to build up to parity with Britain in submarine tonnage. At the same time, the British were informed that the two 10,000-ton cruisers Germany is now building would be armed with 8-in rather than 6-inch guns.

Applying these two changes to the German fleet as at present constituted, and disregarding for the moment the 35,000-ton battleships, what sort of fleet do we find Germany possessing?

First, she has two battleships completed last year, "Scharnhorst" and "Gneisenau," of 26,000 tons and 27 knots designed speed (both are said to

have exceeded 30 on trial). They are armed with nine 11-inch and twelve 6-inch guns each, plus an extraordinarily heavy anti-aircraft battery, and carry four aircraft. They are equipped with Diesel engines for cruising and geared turbines for full-power steaming, giving them a very large radius of action.

Next consider the three so-called "pocket battleships," "Deutschland," "Admiral Scheer," "Admiral Graf Spee," vessels of 10,000 tons and 26 knots, powered with Diesel engines and said to have a radius of action of 10,000 miles. These ships are armed with six 11-inch and eight 6-inch guns, plus anti-aircraft, and carry two airplanes.

The outstanding characteristic of all five of these ships is that any of them can easily destroy any British cruiser. Moreover, any of them can run away from any British capital ship except the three battle-cruisers "Hood," "Renown" and "Repulse." Indeed the first two can probably show a clean pair of heels to any British capital ship except "Hood." In "Scharnhorst" and "Gneisenau," no attempt has been made to equal in offensive qualities, especially gun caliber, contemporary foreign battleships such as the French "Dunkerque" (armed with 13-inch guns) or the British "King George V" (armed with 14-inch).

This gives rise to an interesting line of speculation. It can be carried further by considering the characteristics of the two new German aircraft carriers, the first of which ("Graf Zeppelin") has also just been launched. These ships are of 19,250 tons, almost exactly the same size as our own "Yorktown" and "Enterprise." They are said to carry 40 aircraft, whereas "Yorktown" at full capacity can handle 100. Immediately, on wonders why.

The normal duty of an aircraft carrier is to carry aircraft to work with the fleet; the more aircraft she can carry, the better. She does not need powerful guns; her protection is the

duty of other types. Yet much of the tonnage of the new German carriers has been diverted from aircraft-capacity to provide for a battery of sixteen 6-inch guns, in addition to her anti-aircraft battery, and for a considerable armor protection and large cruising radius.

One might further ask, why does Germany build aircraft carriers at all? The answer is not the Soviet navy, for the theater in which Germany and Russia might clash is the Baltic Sea, dominated by shore-based aircraft to an extent which carriers could never hope to equal.

Consider further the other new German construction—notably the five heavy cruisers, armed with 8-inch guns, of which two and possibly three will be completed this year, and a total of ten light cruisers, of which six have been completed while the others are in various stages of construction.

Then (without taking into account destroyers and torpedo boats) add to this the new German submarine program, which, to a total of 71 submarines now built or building, proposes to add approximately 44,000 tons of additional U-boats, largely of long-range, ocean-going types—say 36 boats if one may assume an average tonnage of 1200.

It is perfectly silly to contend, as German official explanations have attempted to contend, that this submarine program is intended for use against Russia. There is no conceivable use for any such force of submarines in the German-Russian naval situation. The submarine is useful for certain defensive purposes—especially in narrow waters, such as the entrances to the Baltic—but its principal use in war has been in the field of commerce-destroying. Now Russia has no very considerable sea-borne commerce. And, submarines or no submarines, what she has (in the Baltic, at least) would come to an instant stop in case of war with Germany. The nation which possesses sea-borne commerce which is vital to her, without which, in fact, she cannot live, is Britain.

The outlines of German naval policy, of the purposes which lie behind the expenditure of so much money and material on the new German navy, now begin to take form.

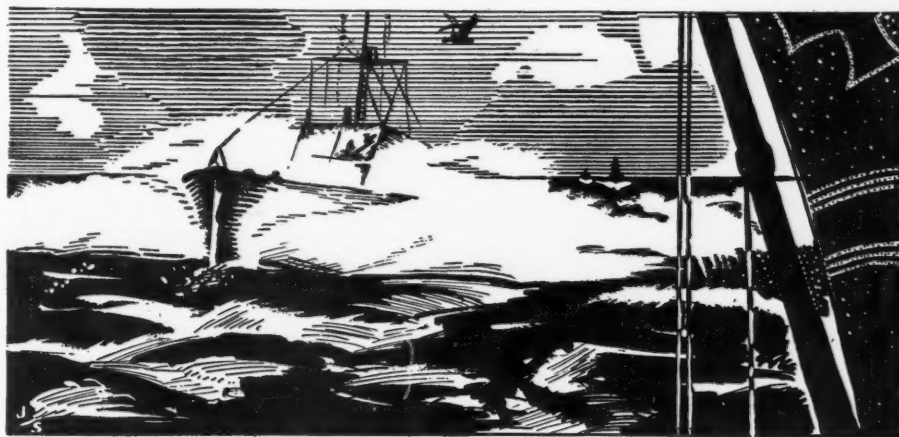
German naval policy is designed for just one purpose: for an attack upon Britain at her most vulnerable point, her sea-borne trade.

To understand how this may be done, recall the experiences of the last war.

German strategists have not forgotten that they came very near to winning that war by the ruthless and unrestricted use of the submarine against British merchant shipping. The British Isles are particularly vulnerable to this sort of attack. In peace as in war, British industry is dependent on raw materials brought from overseas. Brit-

voy of twelve ships, escorted by two British destroyers, was attacked by three German cruisers. Both destroyers went down, and nine of the twelve merchant vessels under escort fell prey to the Germans. This lesson, also, German naval strategists have taken to heart: just as convoy is the answer to the submarine, so the answer to convoy is attack by superior surface forces.

But, under normal conditions of sea warfare, this is not an answer which



ish prosperity depends upon keeping open the sea-lanes which carry British manufactured goods to the markets of the world. Moreover, the British people are dependent on sea-borne commerce for the very food by which they live. Cut off those sea-borne supplies, and they starve.

This lesson both Germans and Britons learned in the grim days of 1917, when submarine losses were mounting month by month until at last a First Sea Lord was compelled to say despairingly to the War Cabinet: "Gentlemen—there is no use talking about the 1918 campaign. There is not going to be any 1918 campaign for us unless we can find some way to stop the German submarines."

Fortunately for Britain, the way was found. The answer to the submarine—American naval officers had no small part in finding it—was the convoy system. Merchant ships sailed in groups from regular convoy-assembly ports and were escorted through the submarine zone by destroyers, patrol vessels and armed trawlers. Coupled with increasingly effective patrol of the waters about the British Isles, the convoy system put an end to the submarine menace. Once it hit its stride, it brought in safely 99% plus of all the ships entrusted to its care.

Only once was it seriously threatened. That was on October 17, 1917, when the so-called Scandinavian con-

voys of twelve ships, escorted by two British destroyers, was attacked by three German cruisers. Both destroyers went down, and nine of the twelve merchant vessels under escort fell prey to the Germans. This lesson, also, German naval strategists have taken to heart: just as convoy is the answer to the submarine, so the answer to convoy is attack by superior surface forces.

That factor is the matter of time. Even a very superior navy cannot, on the declaration of war, immediately wipe the oceans of the world clear of enemy warships and merchant ships. The sea is an enormous and trackless expanse, the search and control of which takes time. In the World War, it will be remembered how long it took for some forty searching cruisers to run down just one German cruiser, the "Emden," and how much damage she did before she was destroyed. The war began in August. It was not until the following January that the last of the various scattered German cruisers were brought to book at the Falkland Islands.

Suppose for a moment that for this five-month period these various cruisers had all been operating in the North Atlantic, in conjunction with

A BRITISH VIEW OF NAZI NAVAL POWER

ACTUALLY in submarine tonnage Germany is now some 20,000 tons below Great Britain in the total amount built and building. That means, with the rather smaller types which she builds, about 25 to 30 more craft. There is reason to believe that both for reasons of raw material and for lack of shipyard facilities she would not be likely to put that number of new boats in hand in one year.

A second point worth noting is that even when Germany achieves parity in total tonnage with Great Britain the number of submarines in her navy will not exceed a hundred. Yet during the last year of the War, when she was putting forth a strenuous effort to enforce a U-boat blockade of

this country, she had more than 170 craft, many of them twice the size of those she builds to-day.

Admittedly a hundred submarines would be a formidable menace to sea-borne trade, but all experience goes to show that there are rarely more than one-third of the total ever at sea at one time.

Germany's change in cruiser armament, though strictly permissible under the Anglo-German naval treaty, has deeply disappointed naval authorities here. It means that Germany will be building two new 8-inch-gun cruisers when all the other navies except Japan have agreed to limit themselves to 6-inch-gun vessels.

—Condensed from *The Manchester Guardian*.

as strong a fleet of submarines as Germany had in 1917. Suppose they had been attacking the vital British trade-routes at the points where these converge toward the Channel—the north of Ireland, the Strait of Gibraltar, the passage between Africa and the north-eastern corner of Brazil. What would have been the result? It is very likely that the British people would have come close to starvation, and the British government close to surrender.

For the submarines would have taken a tremendous toll of single ships, and the cruisers could have dealt with the convoys. Of course the British cruisers would have been out and on the job, as a matter of fact; and the German cruisers of 1914 would not have lasted very long, especially as they would have had no bases from which to refuel. In 1914, therefore, Germany could not have hoped for any great measure of success from such operations.

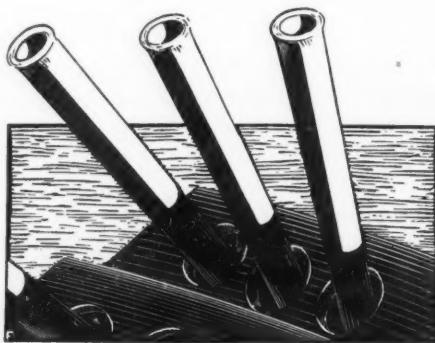
The point is, today the conditions are quite different, for Germany is building a navy precisely adapted for this very purpose. Indeed, as to some of its most important units, it is of comparatively little use for any other purpose.

The "Scharnhorst" and "Gneisenau" could not fight in the line of battle against the more heavily armed battle-ships of France and Britain. In a fleet action, the "Graf Zeppelin" and her sister could not provide anything like the number of aircraft which the new

French and British carriers can put into the air. But all four of these ships are admirably suited for commerce-destroying duties, for the attack of convoys, for working with German shore-based aviation in sweeping the seas clear of British merchant ships.

The two German carriers could cover a vast area of sea with their 40 planes each—and they have the gun armament to enable them to fight off British cruisers. The two battleships are individually able to deal with any possible convoy escort short of one containing capital ships. In both carriers and battleships, other qualities have been ruthlessly sacrificed to obtain precisely the characteristics adapted for such duties.

The new and vast German submarine flotilla will compel the British to use the convoy system. The armored ships, backed by the aircraft carriers and the new heavy cruisers, will locate, break up and destroy the convoys.



Of course, this cannot be kept up forever. Eventually the powerful British navy will be able to overcome the German force. But—will it be able to do so in time? Will it be able to rid the seas of these pests before the British people have been starved into submission?

The answer to this question lies largely in the matter of bases. The Germans cannot hope to operate such an ambitious commerce-destroying campaign from their own bases, contained and smothered as these are by the geographical advantages of the British, and even though the German air force is able to inflict serious damage on British dockyards. They must put their hope in other bases, bases with direct access to the Atlantic Ocean and its vital trade routes.

What bases are available? One thinks instantly of Spain, of the Canary Islands, of Spanish Guinea. One begins to understand why there have been so many rumors of German technicians at work in these places, of German activities in northern Spain, looking out across the Bay of Biscay at the great focal point of British overseas trade, the mouth of the English Channel. And one perceives, in Germany's demand for the return of colonies which were ever an economic burden to her, a strategical rather than a political or an economic purpose. For the old German colonies would give Germany bases in the South Atlantic, the Indian Ocean and the Pacific.

In these considerations we may perceive the purposes of the new German fleet, the German interest in Spain, the German colonial demands, all forming part of a well-coordinated and far-reaching plan. In case of a "surprise war," that plan undoubtedly would be furthered by striking at a moment when the German ships were already at sea, already taking station on the vital trade routes of the British Isles.

This is by no means the least of the problems which face Britain in weighing the issues of peace or war. The German air force may not be able to win a decision by bombing London. But the new German navy, provided with Spanish or African bases and capable of operating directly against the food supply of the British Isles, can present an even more serious menace to the people of those islands than any air force—a menace which may possibly prove decisive unless means are found for dealing with it quickly and effectively.

The Man from Coshocton

By GORDON HAMILTON

IT WAS front page news in the New York Times of December 20, 1924, that the first snowstorm of the winter was sweeping East, that London was planning a seven-story apartment house, that John McCormack, the Irish tenor, had not been blackmailed, and that Christmas at the White House would be a quiet family festival.

It was not front page news that, the day before, one William Green had been elected President of the American Federation of Labor. That story slept quietly in an inconspicuous column on page three.

In March of 1939, however, Green's name made the front pages of all American newspapers day after day when the President of the United States appealed to him, and to his arch-rival John L. Lewis, to forget their differences and weld together their two great labor organizations, each numbering close to four million members.

Few Americans knew much about William Green in 1924. Commentators noted that "he was always overshadowed by his more dynamic associate," President John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers, of which Green was Secretary-Treasurer.

No one quite knew why Green had been elected President of the A. F. of L. except that he was the choice of Lewis and had become a Federation Vice-President ten years earlier only because another man was too proud to accept the job. There was a widespread disposition to conclude that Green had been put forward to keep the seat warm for Lewis.

For the sod was still fresh on the grave of cigar-maker Samuel Gompers, for forty years the Moses of American labor. Once only had Gompers' rule been seriously challenged. That was two years earlier, when Green himself committed the heresy of nominating Lewis. Gompers' re-election, however, was clinched by Matthew Woll, head of the Photo-Engravers, and in gratitude Gompers named Woll heir apparent. Lewis upset that plan by plumping for Green and seeing him elected.

The gods laughed, therefore, when Green, in his fourteenth term as President of the A. F. of L., appointed his former enemy Woll to help negotiate a

truce with Lewis. A truce with Lewis—the man whom Green once besought President Hoover to name as Secretary of Labor!

Green had been a member of Lewis' United Mine Workers since 1890 when, at 17, he toiled in the mines in Coshocton, Ohio, during his vacations from school. His father before him had dug coal in England. His mother was Welsh. Even as a boy, Green knew what it was to suffer hunger on the picket line, to be injured repeatedly in the mines, to be blacklisted and forced to leave town to find work.

But aside from these dramatic interludes, he lived a non-spectacular life. He wanted to be a Baptist preacher. When he found he could not afford that career, he taught Sunday School. He worked like a horse, he studied economics at night, he never drank or smoked. At 21 he married Miss Jennie Mobley, a childhood chum, and now has five daughters and a son.

In time he became an Elk, an Odd Fellow, a Mason. He rose slowly but surely in the Union. The year 1900 saw him elected a sub-district president. Union office freed him from bone-wearying toil in the mines. By 1912 he was the union's Secretary-Treasurer.

During two terms in Ohio's State Senate—he was as good a Democrat as Lewis was a Republican—he pushed through a number of reform laws, including an Ohio Workman's Compensation Act—"That law is the greatest thing in my career."

When his term as President of the Federation began, the conservative press rejoiced that "Labor is safe under his leadership, capital has nothing to fear during his regime, and the public is fortunate in having him as the responsible spokesman of a highly important group."

As \$12,000-a-year President, he came to resemble a small-town banker. Lewis is shaggy, but Green's white hair is always combed, his suit always pressed. Pince-nez screen his dark brown eyes. His cheeks are pink, his jowls are heavy, his jaw is determined. A diamond ring adorns a stubby finger of a hand still powder-marked from the mines. A gold watch-chain sets off the barrel chest he developed as a



William Green

result of his years as a mine-digger.

In time he moved to Washington, into a plain office in the Federation Building. He lives in a hotel in the Capital, but likes to visit his home-town of Coshocton as often as possible.

Under his leadership the Federation has had its downs and ups. When he succeeded Gompers it had 2,800,000 members—2,000,000 less than its peak of four years earlier. The drop continued. By the depths of the depression the Federation was down to 2,100,000, but gained a million under the NRA.

Then came the C.I.O. secession. Almost overnight, Lewis snatched away one million members, including Green's own union, the United Mine Workers. From that time until the day, a few weeks back, when President Roosevelt urged Green and Lewis to bury the hatchet, the C.I.O. signed up three million more members with a high-pressure organizing campaign based on industrial unionism. When Green's Mine Workers persisted in backing Lewis, he expelled his own union from the Federation, and, after forty-eight years of membership, reluctantly penned his resignation to his brother Hugh, secretary of the Miners' Local at Coshocton.

At that time his future looked none too inviting. Many a hasty observer dismissed Bill Green as a goner, and the Federation as another, when Lewis banged into action with the C.I.O. The fact is, however, that Green has more than regained his loss to the C.I.O. At its last convention, the Federation boasted 3,623,087 dues-paying members. When President Roosevelt made his plea for peace, it was ready to deal with the C.I.O. on equal terms.

Health for the Millions

Spending over three billions annually in medical care, we lose ten billions in preventable illness

By JAMES RORTY

TWENTY years of struggle by advocates of a national health program are climaxed in a measure now before Congress—the National Health Act of 1939. Introduced a few weeks ago by Senator Robert Wagner of New York, it takes the form of amendments to the Social Security Act. If enacted, this bill, by progressive steps, will fundamentally reorganize our health services. It will affect occupationally more than 1,500,000 persons in the medical profession, including 169,000 doctors and 300,000 nurses. It will also affect, as consumers of medical services, most of our people.

"No social legislation projected in our time," says Senator Wagner, "is more closely related to the general welfare than a national program for health protection. No legislation was launched with more widespread approval among persons in every walk of life. We must take action now to conquer this last remaining frontier of social security in America."

In effect, the bill embodies the National Health Program discussed at the important National Health Conference which met in Washington in July, 1938. Called by Josephine Roche, chairman of the President's Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities, the Conference was attended by 200 delegates representing important professional bodies in the field of health services, as well as labor, farmer and consumer organizations.

This National Health Program set up a ten-year perspective leading to an estimated annual cost of \$850,000,000 at the full level of operation. Half that amount would be paid out of Federal funds, half out of State and local funds. The Wagner Health Bill calls for a Federal appropriation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940, of \$80,000,000 in the form of grants-in-aid to the States. But it, too, would increase appropriations progressively in succeeding years.

Neither the National Health Pro-

gram nor the Wagner Health Bill sets up compulsory health insurance—that *bête noir* which organized medicine has fought for many years, and against which the American Medical Association is still formally committed. But both the National Health Program and the Wagner Bill contain provisions which, in actual operation, would permit the Federal Government to extend grants-in-aid, *if, as, and when particular States choose compulsory health insurance as their method of financing and delivering a general service of medical care to employed workers.*

The National Health Program does not say this, of course. The Wagner Bill does not say it. The strategy is one of tactful omission, the effect of which will be either to postpone the battle between organized medicine and the Administration, with its farmer and labor allies, or to transfer it from Washington to the State capitals. The battle is already raging in Wisconsin and California, where compulsory health insurance bills are being actively pushed. It is likely to break out elsewhere. Both the A. F. of L. and

James Rorty, whose book *American Medicine Mobilizes* has just been published, is a travel-mined, incurably-inquisitive writer who will cross the country at the drop of an argument in order to get facts to prove his point. Indeed, this article and his new book stem directly out of a recent village-to-village tour of the country, seeking an answer to the question, "Are our health services adequate to meet the people's needs?"

Mr. Rorty has been writing professionally since he was 17, when he edited a small up-state New York newspaper. His books include *Where Life is Better*, *Order on the Air*, and *Our Master's Voice*.

C. I. O. have endorsed compulsory health insurance and the National Health Program, and both are expected to endorse the Wagner Health Bill.

Briefly, the Wagner Bill provides for grants adjusted on a sliding scale in proportion to individual resources of states. These grants are to promote child and maternal health, public health work and investigations, construction of needed hospitals and health centers, general programs of medical care, and insurance against loss of wages during periods of temporary disability. (A billion dollars a year is now lost in this way.)

"The fullest development of this program," says Senator Wagner, "would bring the benefits of modern medical science, both preventive and curative, within the reach of all groups of the population, especially in rural areas and areas suffering from economic distress. Under no circumstances will the Federal Government undertake to furnish medical care. Administration in all cases will be through the States, which will develop their plans only after careful surveys of local needs and conditions, and with a view to supplementing, not displacing, the existing efforts of the professions, the localities, charitable organizations and the hospitals."

An exhaustive survey, first sponsored and later partly suppressed by the California Medical Society, preceded the present battle over compulsory health insurance in California. A similar survey is currently being conducted by a New York State temporary commission to study the need of medical care, functioning under the terms of a bill introduced by Senator Wagner's son, State Senator Robert Wagner, Jr. The latter also has sponsored a compulsory health insurance bill.

Whether or not Senator Wagner's bill passes Congress at this session—the chances would appear to be about fifty-fifty—doubtless we shall have plenty of State health surveys in the

immediate future, just as we have had many such surveys, both State and national, in the past. It is significant that the American Medical Association, after officially denying for more than twenty years the existence of any serious problem of unmet medical need, is now conducting a survey of its own. Another evidence of the AMA's revised attitude towards the entire question of national health and national care is its relatively mild objection to the Administration program. This is in sharp contrast to its head-on opposition, seven years ago, when the privately-subsidized Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, headed by Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, submitted much milder and less far-reaching proposals.

After listening to an abstract of the recent national health survey, sponsored by the United States Public Health Service, Dr. Hugh Cabot, addressing the 1938 National Health Conference, said ironically: "I do not quite remember when the first [survey] was made, but I think it was before 1492. They have been made quite regularly, the general drift of them has been the same, and I take the liberty of suggesting to this group that we get over this survey business and get on with the war."

The war is now on, and nobody knows it better than Dr. Hugh Cabot, of the Boston Cabots, until recently consulting surgeon of the Mayo Clinic. Ever since the appearance of his book, *The Doctor's Bill*, in 1935, Dr. Cabot has been the more or less recognized leader of the progressive wing of the American Medical Association—the group which organized itself in 1937 as the Committee of Physicians for the Improvement of Medical Care.

The Roosevelt Administration did not start this war. It merely had it on its hands the moment it took office. The depression precipitated a crisis in health services. The New Dealers had to do something about medical relief, just as they had to do something about other forms of relief.

Under the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and later under WPA, various provisions were made by which relief funds were used to pay physicians for serving relief clients. These arrangements were never regarded as adequate by the relief clientele, the physicians or the relief administrators. Studies of medical relief under FERA, made by the United States Public Health Service in 1934 and 1939, showed that in none of the

FOUR HEALTH PLANS

GROUP PRACTICE: An association of physicians who share office equipment and overhead and consult one another in treating patients. The out-patient department of a hospital represents one kind of group practice, some types of industrial medicine another. A superior example is the Mayo Clinic of Rochester, Minn., which provides complete diagnostic, laboratory and hospital facilities, but charges on the traditional fee-for-service, sliding scale basis. There are about three hundred group practice units in the United States.

GROUP PRE-PAYMENT: the voluntary application of the insurance principle to payment of all or part of the medical expenses of a given group of persons. Some group practice organizations, like the Ross-Loos Clinic of Los Angeles, contract with groups of patients to deliver all needed medical care in return for the payment in advance of an annual fee. Group hospitalization plans, applying the insurance principle to payment of hospital costs, have recruited over three million subscribers since their inception three years ago.

MEDICAL COOPERATIVE: A group of men and women, organ-

ized to purchase medical and hospital services collectively, usually on a pre-payment basis. The Group Health Service of Washington, D. C., is a medical cooperative which combines the economy and efficiency of group practice with voluntary health insurance—the group pre-payment of costs. Three years ago the Cooperative League of the U. S. A. organized the Bureau of Medical Cooperatives, directed by Dr. Kingsley Roberts, with offices at 5 East 57th St., New York. The Bureau issues a monthly magazine and has helped organize about fifty medical cooperatives now in operation or in formation.

COMPULSORY HEALTH INSURANCE: Under the compulsory health insurance systems established in Germany, England, France, and about twenty other countries, employed workers and their employers each contribute a percentage of the weekly wage to the compulsory insurance fund, which is then used to provide more or less complete medical care to the insured workers. In some countries the government also makes a contribution. No country which has adopted compulsory health insurance has ever abandoned it.

States which adopted the forms of medical relief devised in Washington did they meet more than about one-quarter of the acknowledged need. The problem in depressed rural areas—particularly the drought States—became acute and, once having tried to do something about it, the Roosevelt Administration has never been able to let go. The Farm Security Administration is currently organizing county health cooperatives as a means of enabling its own clients to maintain sufficient health to cultivate their farms and, incidentally, pay back Farm Administration loans.

As with general relief, it became increasingly apparent that medical relief was not an emergency problem: it was a permanent problem, and for its solution a far-reaching reorganization of the health service was required. Indeed, it is only because of the relatively high American wage level and the relatively huge flow of philanthropic funds into hospitals, clinics, and other forms of health subsidy that we have been able to evade the issue of "socialized medicine" until now. Bismarck gave compulsory health insurance to Germany in 1883. Lloyd George put through the English panel

system in 1911. Our turn is coming, it would seem, either this year or, at most, next—not necessarily in the form of compulsory health insurance, but more probably in expanded Federal and State subsidies for maternal and infant care, the public health services, hospitals and health centers, and sickness disability payments provided for in Senator Wagner's bill.

Health insurance is likely to come slower and harder, although, in the judgment of many experts, it is needed as much as, if not more than, any other item of the program. The model health insurance bill prepared by the American Association for Social Security has been introduced in a dozen states, and, as the Capper Bill, in the Federal Congress.

Even during the booming Twenties, as shown conclusively by the Wilbur Committee, the increasing complexity and consequent cost of medical care had outgrown the capacity of the average family to pay, although the average rank and file doctor never has made much better than a living wage.

The depression raised this disparity to tragic proportions. Today the simple fact is that, whereas everybody needs a doctor—preferably *before* he is sick—the majority of our people cannot



Dr. Hugh Cabot

really afford a doctor. They cannot afford, and more than a third of them do not get, that minimum of security against sickness without which the struggle of the individual family is hopelessly handicapped; without which the vitality and stability of society itself are impaired; without which the mounting costs of preventable illness, preventable deaths, and preventable public dependency gnaw dangerously at budgets of local and national governments.

We are spending about three-and-a-quarter billions annually for medical care of all kinds; but we are wasting and losing something like ten billions a year in terms of preventable illness and preventable death. It is that huge waste that Surgeon-General Thomas Parran and other leaders of the Administration's health forces are shooting at. As for the opposition—and this is where the war comes in—that arises partly from medical politics and partly from the pains, protests, and readjustments that are bound to accompany any major process of inevitable social and economic change. A brief review of medico-economic history will suffice to show this.

In 1934, the House of Delegates of the AMA passed its famous "Ten Commandments" for the profession, which in effect forbade either voluntary or compulsory health insurance, or indeed any real advance in the forms of medical service. An exception was made for group hospitalization, which the American Hospital Association had approved in 1933.

Hospital insurance plans (which incidentally helped save the endowed

voluntary hospitals from bankruptcy) spread like grass fire. Within three years, sixty plans were in operation, serving 3,000,000 subscribers—over 1,000,000 in New York City alone on the three-cents-a-day plan. There hospital insurance is available for \$10 a year; that is, up to 30 days' hospital care, including use of operating room and anesthetist, sometimes other technicians, but *not* medical care. Inevitably the customers want more, better, and cheaper plans. Hence, many of the plans are now expanding their scope to include medical care while in the hospital, with home care almost certain to be added sooner or later.

All this was progress, so far as it went. But it did not sufficiently help the majority of the employed industrial workers. For them compulsory health insurance long since had been adopted by most other industrial countries. Yet in the winter of 1934-35, when an attempt was made to include a compulsory provision in the Social Security Act, the AMA swung into action and Washington was blanketed with telegrams, driving advocates of change to cover.

HOWEVER, among many physicians, opposition to the AMA's attitude became more pronounced. The Association's Ten Commandments were challenged with impunity. In Los Angeles, Drs. Ross and Loos started their big practice-group pre-payment clinic, and were promptly excommunicated by the local medical society. They appealed to the Judicial Council of the AMA, were reinstated, and have not been seriously molested since.

About the same time, out in Oklahoma's dust bowl, a Syrian doctor named Michael Shadid organized the Elk City Community Hospital as a medical cooperative, backed by the powerful Farmers Union. The Oklahoma State Medical Society attacked him violently and everybody in the know said Dr. Shadid would not last six months. He has lasted seven years, and has already built two fine additions to his hospital.

Similar battles have been fought in a dozen other cities. Chicago, Little Rock, Milwaukee, Akron, St. Louis, San Diego, Washington, D. C.—each city became in turn the scene of unhappy and wasteful struggle. Always the opposition was the same. An indictment voted by the Federal Grand Jury at Washington, D. C., in the case of the Group Health Association

charged that local medical bodies, prompted by officers of the American Medical Association, instituted an active boycott of the Group Health Association; that hospitals were closed to the cooperative's staff; that members of this staff who were also members of the local medical societies were either expelled or forced to resign their salaried positions; that specialists were forbidden to consult with the cooperative's physicians, and that white lists of approved medical institutions were published on which the cooperative's name did not appear. These are the grand jury's charges, as yet unproved.

One of the most unfortunate consequences of the growth crisis through which the health services are passing, and which organized medicine has vainly resisted, is the damage done to the reputation of the medical profession. It is almost entirely undeserved. We have, on the whole, an abler and better-trained medical personnel than any other country in the world. Moreover, the average doctor has almost nothing in common with politicians of medicine who claim to speak for him.

Since the average doctor rarely attends meetings of his local medical society, it often falls into the hands of a self-perpetuating clique of medical politicians. Sometimes his feeling against the clique breaks into print. For example, when the will of Dr. Arthur J. McLean, brain specialist of Portland, Oregon, was probated, it was found that he had bequeathed:

To 94 per cent of Portland's medical practitioners, and their



Senator Robert F. Wagner

ethics, and the whole organized medical profession, a lusty, rousing belch.

It is not only medical misanthropes who have challenged their reigning politicians. During the very period when spokesmen of the AMA were denying the existence of any sizable volume of unmet medical need, Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, a former president of the AMA and chairman of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, as well as Secretary of the Interior under Hoover, was saying this to a national radio audience:

The lack of adequate medical care lays a burden of pain, suffering, and inefficiency on this nation which, rich as it is, exceeds what we can afford. The question which faces the American people in the next ten years is not whether we can afford to provide ourselves with satisfactory medical service, but rather whether we can afford to provide less than adequate medical care.

During the summer of 1937, members of the profession opposed to the obstructionism of its official spokesmen organized as the Committee of Physicians for the Improvement of Medical Care, headed by Dr. Hugh Cabot, Dr. John P. Peters of the Yale University Medical School, and other outstanding physicians and teachers of medicine. Against the purely negative provisions of the AMA's Ten Commandments, this Committee pitted its "Principles and Proposals," signed by 430 physicians and calling for government subsidies for medical education, research, and the care of the medically indigent.

By this time the State and county societies all over the country were seething with the controversy. Small in number, the proponents of change were powerful in prestige and ability. They could and did strike heavy blows, as when Dr. James H. Means, in his presidential address at the 1938 convention of the American College of Physicians, denounced the political "standpatism" of the American Medical Association.

Three months later, the committee of rebel medicos, its membership more than doubled, played a decisive role at the National Health Conference in Washington when the Interdepartmental Committee's National Health Program was presented to the two hundred delegates. That conference made

DISSENT

The House of Delegates of the American Medical Association, in considering the National Health Program, approved expansion of public health service where need could be shown, approved medical care to the indigent and to the medically indigent where need could be shown, and approved even expansion of hospital construction, provided the need could be demonstrated, recommending, however, utilization of existing facilities to the utmost before a new building program was authorized. The House of Delegates also approved the principle of assistance to the worker for temporary disability resulting from illness. Now the Wagner Act goes far beyond these recommendations: First, it authorizes the expenditure of vast sums before the need has been shown; second, it expands tremendously the work of the Children's Bureau, the United States Public Health Service and the Social Security Board, without any demonstration that such expansion is warranted; third, it proposes to place the state health officers in a commanding position so far as concerns the dispensing of the funds allotted, subject only to approval of all plans by the federal agency to which the task is assigned. Vast funds are provided for

the construction of hospitals and health centers and for their maintenance, notwithstanding the fact that there is not yet available any dependable determination of the exact nature and extent of needs that prevail. Who can imagine for a moment that the money once appropriated will not be expended? Finally, the measure introduces the principle of allotment of federal money to the individual states for medical care, by the Social Security Board, without specifying the means to be used in the individual states for providing such service other than to demand the approval of the Social Security Board. . . .

The advisory councils to be set up are vague as to their membership, their duties and their responsibilities. There is one criticism that is to be made above all others in relation to this proposed legislation, namely its extreme vagueness in the light of the vast sums of money to be dispensed and the great powers conferred on certain federal officers in the control of the spending, and particularly the decision as to which of the individual states shall benefit by the expenditures.

From The Journal of the A.M.A., edited by Dr. Morris Fishbein.

history. Flanked by these medical progressives, as well as by farmer, organized labor and consumer cooperative allies, the Government dared for the first time to defy the hitherto unchallenged medico-political machine. Organized medicine has been in retreat ever since, fighting defensive battles and spreading voluntary health insurance plans, under medical auspices, all over the country.

MANY of the changes now clearly in prospect will come about without benefit of legislation. Almost certainly we shall see a rapid spread and expansion of group practice and group pre-payment organizations and medical cooperatives. We shall see, too, a considerable expansion of industrial medicine paid for in whole or in part by employers, together with a marked improvement in the quality of this medicine. Finally, we shall see a fundamental change in the attitude of the organized medical profession, the beginning of which is already manifest.

Not all the medical opposition to changes in the organization of the health services is wrong-headed or "political." Some eminent and liberal physicians are worried, not without reason, at the prospect of the abuses that may grow up within a greatly expanded government-subsidized health

bureaucracy. These doctors are entirely right when they say that no new forms of medical care will be good, or even tolerable, unless they materially improve the position of the doctor both economically and professionally.

The average rank-and-file doctor is badly treated in our society. He knows his job is important; it amounts to nothing less than the conservation of our human resources. He knows that only good medicine will accomplish this conservation; bad medicine will make matters worse, no matter how much bad medicine is distributed. Once he is convinced that new programs, new forms of medical practice, mean paying him decently for practicing decent medicine, he will be for them. And when he is for them, his professional organization will have to be for them too.

The British Medical Association fought health insurance bitterly in 1911. Today it leads the movement for expansion and improvement.

Something similar is likely to happen in this country—with one difference. Because we have a better health personnel and a better health apparatus, we can and should do more than any other country in the world has ever tried to do. The resources are at hand with which to achieve a hitherto undreamed of level of national health.



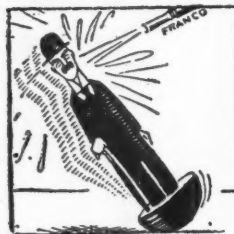
Chamberlain helps prop the lire.



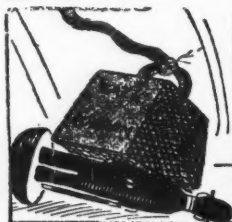
Lee in The London Evening News



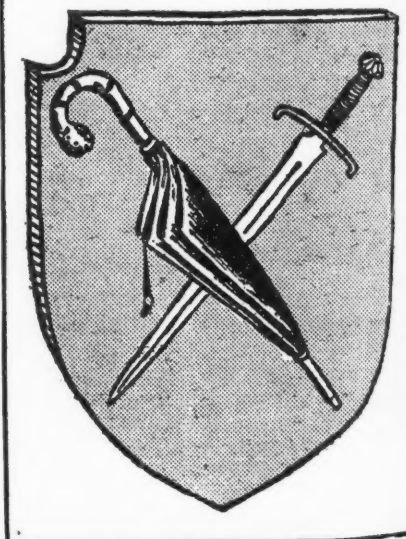
ENGLAND'S
RUBBER
MAN



REFUSES
TO STAY
DOWN



THE SIGN OF THE YEAR



A Czecho-Slovak view of British diplomacy.

Chamberlain's Bu

The British cannot lampoon officials but the law is silent about umbrellas

THE average man-in-the-street may long since have forgotten the specific extortions that comprise the Munich Pact, but he has it immemorially pegged in his mind by a commonplace and tragi-comic symbol—an umbrella.

Around the subject of Prime Minister Chamberlain's ever-present bumbershoot there is a growing saga. Since the meeting at Munich September 30, several baffling questions have arisen with respect to the now-famous "implement for inclemency," as an umbrella is referred to in court circles.

Is it fifteen, or sixteen, years old? Has it been lost and recovered nine times, as is hotly maintained by the curators of the Umbrella Museum of Gignese, Italy, or merely four times? The latter contention is championed by the managing director of Thomas Briggs & Sons, in St. James Street, London, who originally sold the article to Mrs. Chamberlain in 1924 (or was it 1925?) on the occasion of (a) a wedding anniversary, (b) a birthday or (c) a rainy day. Diligent scholars have found evidence to support all these explanations.

Since the day last fall when the Chamberlain umbrella became the object of a fabulous amount of international abuse, satire, sublimation and miscellaneous comment, it appears that a young Oxonian in search of a thesis for his doctorate has seized on this as his subject. It will be recalled that a Ph.D. thesis must be "an original contribution to the sum of human knowledge." This scholar has unearthed invaluable data.

For example, the world may now be told that the umbrella cost Mr. and Mrs. Chamberlain 57s., 6d. (or about

\$14.75). The shop from which it was purchased is also patronized regularly by Captain Anthony Eden, the Dowager Queen Mary, and Earl Baldwin. The malacca handle is seven-eighths of an inch thick, is spiked on a Tonkin (Indo-Chinese) cane, and is decorated with a gilt—not gold—band. It is said that the immaculate Captain Eden once disparaged his older colleague's umbrella because it is not equipped with a silk tassel. But the cover is of finest silk, it is soundly hand-sewn, and all the hinges are hand-riveted. Finally, the ferrule is of brass, tipped with steel. In a pinch, Mr. Chamberlain would find it a formidable weapon.

At Checkers, according to the London *Sunday Express*, a familiar sight is that of Mr. Chamberlain riding his bicycle with the celebrated umbrella held aloft to protect him from rain or excessive sunshine. But these appearances are becoming more rare, since the Prime Minister is said to have become sensitive on the subject of the umbrella, particularly since the simultaneous death of Czecho-Slovakia and the Chamberlain "appeasement policy" in mid-March. A British law forbids ridicule of living persons, but that protection does not extend to the inanimate appurtenances of the famous. The Prime Minister has even been seen in

's Bumbershoot

By
LAMAR MIDDLETON

recent weeks in Downing Street without the umbrella, moving one newspaper to refer to the "appearance of Mr. Chamberlain in an extraordinary state of nudity."

Because he is invariably losing this famous symbol of appeasement, Mr. Chamberlain has been deluged with requests, both serious and humorous, to bestow it on the British Museum. The Umbrella Museum Gignese wrote him an elaborate request for it; the curators called it "an instrument fraught with the historic." But the Prime Minister turned down the request, saying modestly: "My umbrella is far too ordinary and old." The Museum authorities were just as pleased; they were able to exhibit the letter.

With Paris newspaper commentators and cartoonists the *parapluie* of the British Prime Minister is a favored subject. When the French Government recently appointed an emissary to negotiate with General Franco, a movement was launched in the Chamber of Deputies to give the diplomat an "umbrella of honor." To defray its cost Jean Chiappe, former Paris police chief, contributed a gambling chip from Deauville. One deputy disgorged fifty centimes; another donated two 25-centime stamps. There was also a proposal to give one to Franco.

The French now have a street dance known as "La Chamberlaine," a concession to stags. After the dancers have taken to the floor, the stag wanders around seeking a partner. When he

spies her, he hooks her dancing companion's arm with the umbrella. The latter then has to find himself another girl, the symbolical point being that the umbrella legitimizes theft.

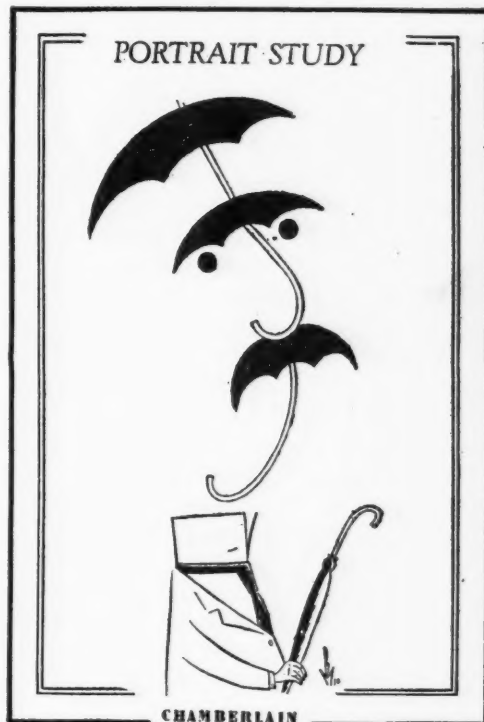
The satirical political weekly, *Le Canard Enchaîné*, never fails to make some reference to the umbrella. One of its commentators declared that Mr. Chamberlain took it to Munich to serve as a parachute. In the United States it has also been the butt of countless skits and songs. At present it is used as a prop in *Pins and Needles*, labor-sponsored Broadway review.

Replicas of the umbrella are widely sold in London as a "symbol for peace," and the enterprise actually receives the public endorsement of Queen Elizabeth, whose sense of humor is reportedly not the greatest. The umbrella also has taken the form of highly palatable cakes and candies. On March 18, three days after Der Tag, two thousand organized British spinsters, desirous of celebrating the Prime Minister's seventieth birthday, bought him a new unmbrella tied with a lilac-colored bow. Said their spokesman, somewhat illogically, "I am sure that, when he looks at it, it will take his mind off that man Hitler."

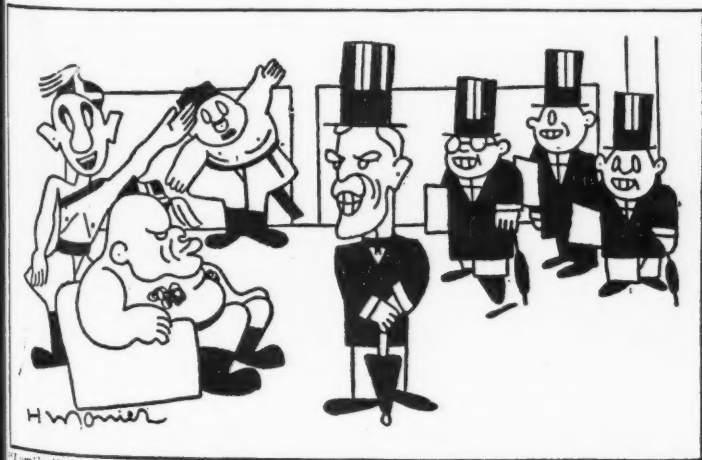
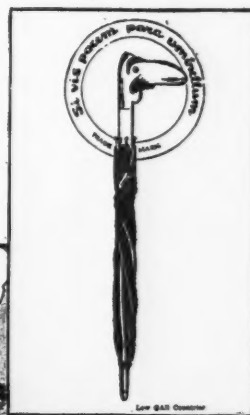
As these two pages indicate, the umbrella has been a boon to cartoonists all over the world. In the United States they have seized it with all the avidity shown by their predecessors in exploiting T. R.'s big stick and Al Smith's brown derby.



Chamberlain in tow.



IS IT A
SYMBOL
OF PEACE?



"Excuse us for presenting ourselves in this informal attire."



Close harmony.

Refugees from the Dust Bowl

At the mercy of disease, hunger and privation,
200,000 good Americans are living in misery

By RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

WHEAT grows again in the Dust Bowl. Rains occasionally dampen it. Scientists and government experts hope the region can be saved. But 350,000 of the inhabitants have already departed. The great migration has occurred. These refugees are upright, substantial citizens of the United States—men and women from the drought areas of the Middle West who have pilgrimaged to the Pacific Coast. Long caravans of dilapidated automobiles have made the westward journey in the last five years. They are scattered along the Pacific seaboard today from Puget Sound to the Gulf of California.

The trek is practically ended now. A few of the nomads even have gone back to the Middle-Western farms they once abandoned to the dust dunes. The present problem is to settle the migrants still on the Coast. Lest the proportions of the pilgrimage be minimized, note that the 350,000 wanderers are considerably more than twice the number of people who trudged westward in the first half-century after the Lewis and Clark expedition.

The migration of the drought victims has been one of the most amazing hejiras in American history. No modern pilgrimage in this country parallels it. Now that it is about over, it is time to survey the trek and appraise its significance to the nation. Approximately 200,000 of the refugees are in California. The rest are in the Pacific Northwest states of Washington, Oregon and Idaho. The bulk of the wayfarers have been farmers. Some, however, are ministers, merchants, school-teachers and artisans in small towns mantled by the dust.

The nomadic farmers who have gone to the Pacific Northwest are better off than those who have sought sanctuary in California. The states along the Columbia River boast the last frontier in this country, and on that frontier thousands of families from the Dust Bowl are finding new homes and new opportunities. More than 250

In the short space of three years, Richard L. Neuberger has moved into the front rank of American journalists and has earned for himself a reputation as the ablest interpreter of news from the Northwest. He likes to talk to people, is a sensitive political weather-vane. Many of his magazine articles—he is a frequent contributor—are the results of his almost uninterrupted journeys through the country he knows so well.

Neuberger is on the staff of the *Portland Oregonian* and author of *Our Promised Land*, a book about the potentialities of the Columbia Basin.

migrant families have just been settled in a single county of Oregon. Here is a typical dispatch in the *Oregonian* of Portland:

Centralia, Feb. 2.—(Special)—Five families from the drought area have recently been placed on farms in this vicinity, it was announced yesterday.

Mr. and Mrs. Byron Hoxsie of Salix, Nebraska, have taken over the R. Willrich 20-acre place at Rochester; Magnus Garthe of Lafayette, Colorado, has purchased the Elmer Hastings property at Rochester; Roland Bethune of Mountain Grove, Missouri, has acquired five acres at Rochester to raise poultry and fruit; Mrs. R. Trimble has brought two sons and a daughter from Stanley, Iowa, to specialize in poultry and truck-farming on an eight-acre place at Toledo, and a new home, chicken house and barn have been built by Robert Abshire of Octavia, Nebraska, on his 40-acre plot near Napavine.

Unfortunately, all the wandering Americans have not fared so well. In California, the problem of the mi-

gratory farmers is acute and serious. The gravity of the problem has not yet been understood by the nation, although Californians realize it only too well. More than 100,000 of them have just addressed a petition to Senator Hiram Johnson pleading that the Federal government take some action. The petition contends that the nomads are living in "squatter camps of unbelievable filth." The field secretary of the Gospel Army recently told the Associated Press that this squalor had produced tuberculosis, typhoid, pneumonia and syphilis.

"Malnutrition is the word written into the coroner's report," said Marquis W. Childs of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, "but that is a polite description for the hunger that overcomes the weaker among these homeless people." The haggard spokesman for a caravan of starving farmers from Texas blurted out to relief authorities: "We're living like hogs—except hogs get food."

A Federal commission, investigating a strike of pea pickers in the lush Imperial Valley, reported, "We found filth, squalor, an entire absence of sanitation, and crowding human beings into totally inadequate tents or crude structures built of boards, weeds and anything that was found at hand to give a pitiful semblance of a home at its worst. In this environment there is bred a social sullenness that is to be deplored, but which can be understood by those who have viewed the scenes that violate all recognized standards of living." The people suffering these hardships are not shiftless ne'er-do-wells, but toil-hardened Americans whose unrelenting effort once brought wheat and barley out of the stubborn soil of the Great Plains.

What is to be done? More than 16 per cent of California's population—900,000 men and women—are subsisting on Federal, state or county assistance. Can the load be increased? The petition to Senator Johnson hints there are more Dust Bowl refugees in Cali-

ifornia than in the expansive Northwest because, "Agricultural wages in California have been from two to four times as high as in most of the agricultural states of the nation. All Federal relief agencies pay more in California than in any other state."

California requires a year's residence in the state before a person can qualify for relief. Thousands of citizens are demanding that the drought victims be returned to the states of their origin before they acquire a legal claim on California. Many, of course, are already bona-fide residents. Listen to the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, edited by John Boettiger, son-in-law of President Roosevelt: "Undoubtedly, some Mid-Western and Southern states, failing to provide adequate relief, have encouraged indigent families, who would be much better off in their home localities, to move westward. Such situations must be ended."

But American citizens cannot be driven like cattle from one state to another. If indigent Dust Bowl farmers in California do not want to return to Kansas or North Dakota or Missouri, they have a constitutional right to stay where they are. Of course, they also have a constitutional right to perish from malnutrition. It is a responsibility of the nation to see that they do not use the latter prerogative. These homeless farmers are as much victims of natural catastrophe as any families trapped by rampant flood or raging forest fire. When the heat seared their farms and the dust storms completed the destruction, they had to move on. They could not raise crops on land as dry as talcum powder. Nor

can California entirely evade liability for the influx. An abundant supply of cheap agricultural labor has long been an objective of its vast corporation farms. In the *New York Times* Douglas W. Churchill recently wrote: "The key to profit on such large ventures, California has found, is cheap labor and plenty of it." The California labor unions are afraid the great horde of unemployed migrants may become a dangerous threat to wage scales in the state, whether for picking strawberries, loading ships or cutting down trees.

Various agencies of the Federal government are working to take care of these American refugees. One is the WPA; its function is obvious. Another is the Farm Security Administration, formerly known as the Resettlement bureau. It once was headed by Dr. Tugwell. In the Far West this organization is concerned almost exclusively with nomads from the Dust Bowl. Also, its offices in the Great Plains states are trying to discourage further migration. Thousands of farmers in the burned-out stretches of the Dakotas, for example, are receiving subsistence grants from the FSA to keep them on their ranches.

What does the Farm Security Administration—the FSA, in government vernacular—do about families which already have made the hejira westward?

Here are Ralph Moore and his wife and their two children; they are from Nebraska. Their home is a flimsy shack in California's San Joaquin Valley. Ralph wants to farm. It is all he has ever done. But he has no money. The

FSA can loan him money to buy equipment, but it cannot finance the purchase of land. The migrant must do that himself. Otherwise the FSA would be undertaking the entire job of settlement. However, farms can be rented. An FSA agent goes with Ralph to see that he is not fleeced by a land speculator. They finally find a small farm which seems to have possibilities. Ralph rents it.

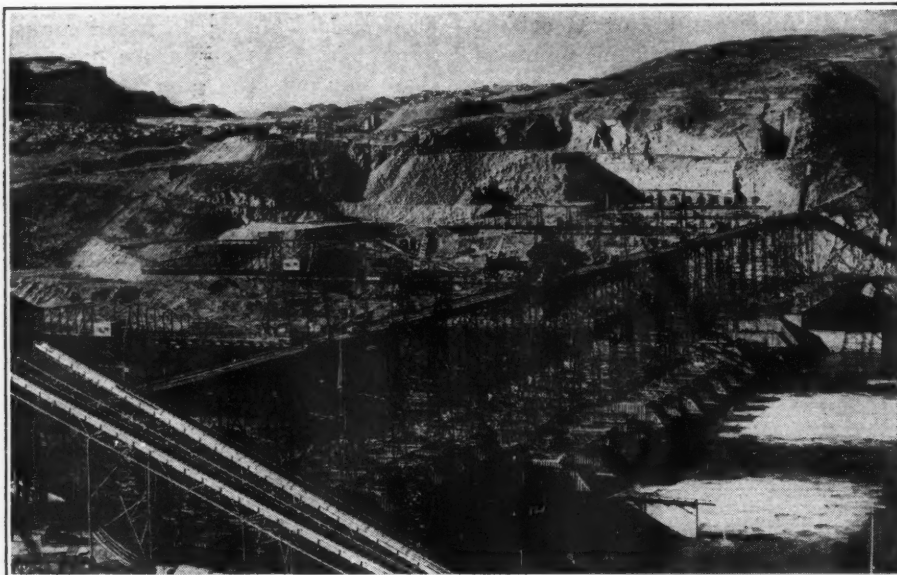
The FSA investigates Ralph Moore's background. It learns that he was forced out of Nebraska by drought and not by any lack of effort or skill. He seems to have character and tenacity. He gets an FSA loan of \$2,000. With this he can establish himself and buy seed and equipment. If he is fortunate and the California soil proves fertile, he can make repayments on the loan and ultimately own the farm.

Of course, the procedure of the FSA varies with individual cases. Most of the migrant farmers helped by the FSA are being rehabilitated on private lands. But some of the nomads are homesteading on government tracts. They do this through the General Land Office, which is in the Department of the Interior. More than half of Oregon, for example, is owned by the Federal government and some of the Dust Bowl refugees in the Pacific Northwest have taken up homesteads on the public domain, as did the covered wagon pioneers almost a century ago. A publication of the FSA, *Suggestions to Prospective Settlers in Idaho, Washington and Oregon*, has kept numerous families from buying or renting or homesteading sterile land. This folder maps and catalogs the



Here are three forlorn refugees from the barren horror of the Dust Bowl and on the right is the type of "home" they have built in a California migrant camp

Lange-Farm Security Administration



Grand Coulee Dam, the world's biggest construction job, will supply water for 1,500,000 acres and 100,000 families

Lange-Farm Security Administration

whole region according to rainfall, elevations, growing seasons and soil.

The FSA estimates that a capital investment of approximately \$5,000 is necessary for a farm which will support a family. Settlers should have half this amount to obtain stock and supplies, make a down payment and provide living expenses until the first crop cracks the soil. This is where the whole problem begins. Most of the refugees are penniless or nearly so. One farmer from Oklahoma told me his wallet contained only \$11. A few of the wanderers have some money, generally obtained from selling the stock and equipment of their deserted farms on the Plains. These wayfarers generally

go to the Northwest. That is one reason the problem is not nearly so grave in the Columbia River basin as it is in California. As these words are written, 245 families in the Northwest have just been colonized on the Vale-Owyhee reclamation project. The land was purchased from the irrigation district, and the FSA advanced loans to finance the farm equipment.

The FSA and WPA are immediate measures to take care of the homeless wanderers *now*. But the most spectacular of the government's plans is concerned with the future. At Grand Coulee on the Columbia River rises the great dam which will irrigate 1,500,000 acres of land in the state of Wash-

ington. The dam will be completed by 1941—and perhaps by 1940 in time for President Roosevelt to dedicate it. This project is close to the President's heart. He thinks it will create a "promised land" in the Western wilderness. He first suggested it in 1920. Mr. Roosevelt hopes Grand Coulee will provide the means for settling 100,000 Dust Bowl families. Speaking at the vast dam two years ago, he said:

"There are thousands of families in this country in the Middle West, in the Plains area, who are not making good because they are trying to farm on poor land. I look forward to the day when this valley, this basin, is opened up, giving the first opportunity to these American families who need some good farm land in place of their present farms. They are a splendid crowd of people and it is up to us, as a nation, to help them to live better than they are living now."

Grand Coulee is closer to reality than most of the country realizes. Already the enormous dam is the biggest structure ever built by man. Irrigation districts are now being formed to make ready for the river-like canals. The land to be irrigated is considerably more vast than the whole state of Delaware. General George W. Goethals once said these canals would irrigate a project more important to the country than the Panama Canal. No person will be permitted to own more than 40 acres at Grand Coulee. A family will be limited to 80 acres. Of course, not all the families will be on farms. Small towns will be essential to provide services for the people tilling the soil.

Under an anti-speculation law just put through Congress by Senators Schwollenbach and Bone, the average price an acre at Grand Coulee will be approximately \$15. A perpetual right to water will cost between \$85 and \$90 an acre. For the first four years the settler will pay nothing for the water right, thus getting a chance to start with the burden lightened. For the next four years he will pay \$4.60 an acre. For 32 years after that the cost will be \$5.10 an acre. By that time he will own a perpetual right to water for irrigation. The only charge will be an annual \$2.60 an acre for pumping and maintenance. Incidentally, Grand Coulee will not only be the world's greatest irrigation undertaking. It also will have the biggest power plant on earth.

The late Dr. Elwood Mead, United States commissioner of reclamation,



Small wonder this so-called farm was abandoned. Wind and drifting soil have made these acres as useless as a desert

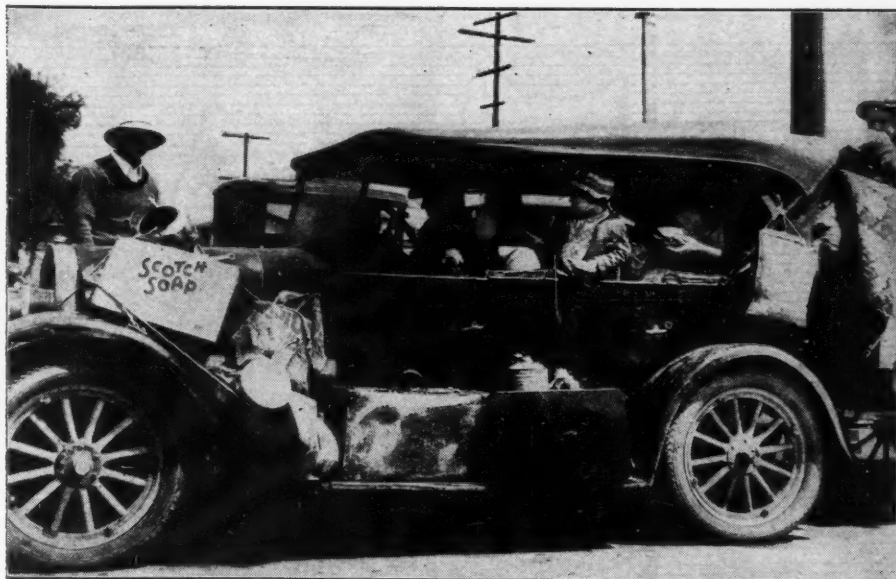
Lange-Farm Security Administration

once decried the land to be reclaimed at Grand Coulee as "the largest compact body of undeveloped land remaining in the United States and the most fertile." Hopes are high now that within a few years this stupendous undertaking will begin to provide farms for the migrants scattered along the Coast.

Other irrigation projects are also under construction in the West. On the Sacramento River the government is building the 560-foot Shasta Dam which will be second in size only to Grand Coulee. This will increase the agricultural opportunities in California by conserving the waters of the Sacramento, Pit, McCloud and San Joaquin Rivers. "Year by year," said the President last autumn, "we propose to add more valleys to take care of thousands of families who need a second chance in new green pastures."

"The population of the United States . . . has substantially reached its utmost inland western limit," editorialized *Harper's Weekly* in March of 1857—1857! Nearly a quarter of a million Dust Bowl refugees in California sadly wonder if that could have been true. The great dams are not completed yet, and now the Associated Farmers and similar organizations have begun a campaign to discourage further FSA migratory labor camps for these homeless people. The contention has been made that the camps will become centers of labor unrest.

But despite these fears, the people from the Dust Bowl are not leftwingers or radicals. They are average American farmers with whom the elements have dealt severely. In a shabby settlement of wayfarers near Sacramento there were two or three preachers who had come west, too, when their congregations packed up and departed. "The land just blew away," one of them explained. "We had to go somewhere." Most of the refugees have been educated to what happened in their old homes. They know about indiscriminate grazing that took away the buffalo grass which anchored the topsoil. They realize now that dams built a generation ago to prevent erosion and flood and drought might have paid for themselves a thousand times when the heat-spells gripped the nation. These victims of the dust storms know what conservation means. Most of them are for the New Deal and President Roosevelt. But they also are suspicious of the labor unions and many of them are as hostile to Harry Bridges and the National Labor Relations Board as is



Lange-Farm Security Administration

On the move! Battered jalopies such as this, sagging under its amazing load, are familiar sights on the highways of the west

any conservative eastern businessman.

Gradually, the migrants in the Pacific Northwest are being absorbed into the population of that outpost region. There are many happy stories of wanderers who have found new farm homes at last. But the nomads in California are nomads still. Many of them have been attracted by the great lure of the famous Golden State—so many, in fact, that the California Citizens' Association is considering a national publicity campaign to discourage further migration. "This situation," warns the Association, "jeopardizes the economic stability of the state and the security of every California resident; and, with the recent curtailment

of WPA funds, constitutes a double threat by throwing additional thousands of employable person onto an already glutted labor market."

Many Federal officials and other experts believe the only ultimate solution is for the government to buy small parcels of land in California and sell them to the refugees as long-term loans with no interest charged. This land would be on Federal irrigation projects wherever possible. It is certain some permanent answer to the problem must be found. Nearly 200,000 Americans of good stock cannot be left at the mercy of social diseases, seasonal unemployment, filthy camps and actual hunger and privation.



Lange-Farm Security Administration

Lack of adequate shelter, and even rudimentary sanitation, have created a serious health problem in refugee camps



Cash for Brazil's Good-Will

The United States, with hand deep in pocket, leads the race there for trade and influence

By CARLETON BEALS

THE fourth country in the world in area, with 48,000,000 inhabitants, Brazil is potentially the wealthiest land on earth.

Strong links long have bound us closely to that country. Sixty per cent of all her exports are coffee, and the United States is the greatest coffee-consuming country. Although British investments in Brazil still total approximately \$1,300,000,000, in a few short years American investments have swept up to over half a billion dollars—and still increase. In Brazil are great American meat-packing, transportation, light and power concerns, American mines, and plantations, among them the 3,700,000-acre Ford rubber estate. At Brazilian ports touch the fine vessels of our new good-will fleet. Out of the skies swoop down the fine sky-lines of Pan-American airways.

But in the last half dozen years, American trade supremacy and influence in Brazil have been seriously challenged. Shifts in Brazil's internal economy and the new trade methods of the German Reich have jeopardized our leadership and sent Britain's exports to Brazil down to fourth place, below Argentina's. Since 1935 German exports to Brazil have exceeded those of the United States.

The United States, however, has won the latest round in the contest for foreign influence in Brazil. The struggle was dramatized at the Pan-American Conference in Lima last winter. Brazil then swore friendship with the United States, but soon signed a new trade agreement with Germany and made new barter arrangements with Italy.

More recently the struggle has been emphasized by the almost simultaneous visit of a high Brazilian army officer to Berlin and of Foreign Minister Oswaldo Aranha to Washington.

The army officer went to buy German and Italian armaments. The outcome of Aranha's visit was revealed March 10 with the announcement that the United States had granted to the southern dictatorship credits that may

total as much as \$120,000,000—the largest American treasury outlay of this nature since the liberal days of the World War.

Of the sums granted, \$19,200,000 was allotted by the Export-Import Bank, to cover bills due American exporters, unpaid because of Brazil's rigid exchange controls. Further sums will finance further exports if existing exchange obstacles are eliminated. Again, Congress will be asked to provide \$50,000,000 gold for the establishment of a Brazilian Central Reserve Bank. Finally, Brazil is to be furnished experts to diversify its production along lines which will not compete with American industry. Rubber, manganese and vegetable-oil products have been mentioned.

Apparently Brazil has driven a good bargain; she has made her friendship pay dividends. Because Brazil owes American and British bondholders over half a billion dollars, American goods must be paid for with currency and are not directly bartered. As a result Brazil's exchange controls have

discriminated against her best customer—ourselves. In view of our heavy purchases in Brazil we should not have to buy her friendship or the right not to be discriminated against. But if Nazi influence in Brazil can thus be checked, probably the outlay will have been worth while.

Brazil also agrees to resume payment on her foreign debt by July, 1939. This apparently means that a large share of the proposed credits will be used to amortize the Brazilian debt rather than to increase trade. In effect, the losses of private bondholders are transferred to the United States treasury.

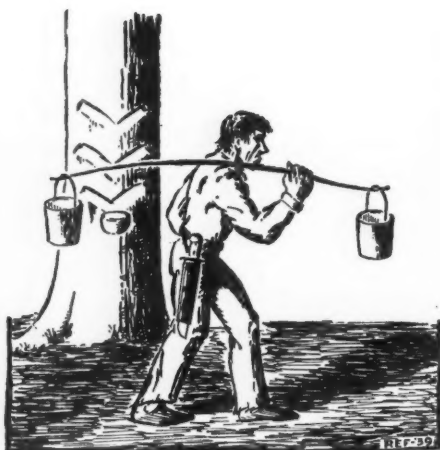
We are therefore placed in the position, however inevitable our action, of giving definite aid to a non-democratic, military government, ruling without popular vote or a legally adopted constitution. Our loans help to sustain it, and experience has repeatedly shown that the financial arrangements of such governments are repudiated when popular government is re-established. The credits, consequently, must be considered not entirely as a business arrangement, but also as a political loan.

The whole loan policy toward Latin America, upon which the Administration seems about to embark with reckless generosity, should be scanned with a cautious eye. Undoubtedly it is pleasant to pay off American holders of Latin American bonds via the United States treasury. That this will bring about any great increase of trade for any enduring period is doubtful. Nor is it likely to create permanent friendships. Lend a man money and notice how often he avoids you thereafter.

But for the time being the new credits definitely will help the dictatorship, not in too happy financial straits. It will also make possible the carrying out of Vargas' program of national economy, of wide-scale armaments and public works, otherwise difficult to finance. Undoubtedly for a time a certain amount of increased trade will

Among the Good Neighbors, the word has been passed around that no Latin-American ruler is a social success unless Carleton Beals has visited his country and week-ended at his home. For distinguished as is Beals' reputation in this country as a reporter on Latin-American affairs, he is even more highly regarded in the capitals about which he writes.

Beals, who is *Current History's* contributing editor on Latin America, has been writing on his pet subject for twenty years. His latest book, best-seller, is *The Coming Struggle in Latin America*. He is also the author of *America South* and *Fire on the Andes*.



come our way. Possibly some will come Germany's way as well.

Much of the explanation for the recent change in Brazil's trade relationships may be found in the expansion of her cotton-growing industry, in good part fomented by the Japanese. While the United States has been restricting cotton production, Brazil has been winning the world market we have lost, and today can put around 2,000,000 bales into the export trade. With lands far more productive, with infinitesimally cheap labor, Brazil is in a strong position, but must depend chiefly on Japan, Germany, and Italy for a great portion of her market.

The scramble for world armaments has led to new zeal in exploiting Brazil's great mineral resources, scarcely tapped. She has the richest iron deposits anywhere, about a fourth of the world's supply, and next to the Soviet Union, the greatest manganese resources. Bauxite, chromium, copper, gold, nickel, platinum, some tin tungsten and helium are but a few of the possibilities.

Inevitably, coffee will become less important in the total national economy. Efforts now being made to diversify industry probably will increase European influence in Brazil in a manner that will affect the Monroe Doctrine, our future trade, and our role as supervisor of the two continents. The new arrangements made in Washington to assist rubber and other industries helpful to American economy reveal that the Administration—whatever criticism may be levelled against the new financial arrangements—seeks to stay trends which might result in serious political and military repercussions to our disadvantage.

Geographically and culturally Brazil is far closer to Europe than to the United States. The outermost coastal point is nearly two thousand miles

east of New York; the distance from Natal to Dakar in Africa is only 1,600 miles; Rio is approximately five hundred miles closer to Cadiz, Spain, than to New York. By air Rio is only five days from New York, but transatlantic planes from Berlin make it in forty hours. Air France and Lufthansa have had transatlantic service to the southern continent for years. Italy is inaugurating a service this month.

Brazil thus becomes the key South American country in international relationships. Closer to Europe than to us, now, with industrial diversification, she threatens to become increasingly a part of Europe's economic and political system. Since all these tendencies are still only partly defined, the country remains something of an enigma, with the powers of the world struggling for her trade and raw materials.

The pivot of all this is the smart little roly poly dictator, Getulio Vargas, who in 1930 climbed to supreme power by revolution. After a stormy rule of seven years, he staged his famous coup of November, 1937, by which he swept all previous constitutional law into the discard.

Vargas was born at San Borja in the far western cattle country. He attended military school, but participated in a student uprising, and never graduated. After a brief army enlistment as a private, he left to study law. Soon he started the polemical paper *O Debate* and barged into politics. In 1926 he was made Minister of Finance. In 1930 he whipped together a sort of Liberal Alliance, really a coalition of State Governors, and took the road of rebellion with a hard-riding cowboy army that landed him without a personal scratch in white Guanabara Palace in Rio.

His allies were depression, economic collapse, and the breakdown of the coffee market. Brazil had been trying to keep up world coffee prices by crop controls and the burning of excess supplies. The coffee exports of Colombia and Central America promptly expanded. Government management resulted in terrific treasury outlays. Brazil was tied in a snarl.

Sectionalism and class differences also aided Vargas. The western cattle and mining interests resented being ruled by the small São Paulo coffee oligarchy, and there were bitter regional differences between north and south. Southern Brazil is more predominantly European and Oriental: it has half a million Germans, a quarter of a million Japanese, and a million

and a quarter Italians. The latter, especially, have mixed widely with the native population. Northern Brazil, more native, is a mixture of Portuguese, Dutch and French, with Indian and negro—a violent melting pot.

The general unrest of the submerged classes also played the cards for Vargas. Brazil is the paradise of large estates, *fazendas*. In the coastal region of the south, thanks to foreign colonization, the land is more or less split up, but not even a tenth of the privately owned area of the country belongs to small proprietors. Some 400,000,000 acres are divided among 184,274 large properties. In other words, two per cent of the adult male population of the country owns nine-tenths of the land.

Living standards are incredibly low. Most rural labor is close to peonage. According to the United States Department of Commerce (May, 1938) the average Brazilian factory wage is only \$11 a month. Of the western nations, Brazil is close to the bottom in *per capita* purchasing power.

Poor education and public health are the result. Seventy per cent of the population is illiterate. Of the twenty Latin American countries, probably only Salvador and Haiti have a lower percentage of children in school. Tuberculosis, leprosy, syphilis and malaria are terrible, mostly unchecked scourges.

And so undoubtedly a great deal of pent-up popular discontent rode behind Vargas to power. Vargas' Alliance was closely affiliated with the Tenentes, an organization of junior army officers, and several labor and socialistic organizations. A small group of Communists jumped on the band wagon.

Once in power, Vargas abandoned most of those who aided him, and made peace with his opponents. He continued the coffee control system and subsidies to the growers which he had



worn to abolish. The coffee oligarchy of São Paulo continued to hold sway. Vargas faced revolt after revolt, some serious, and throughout the nine years he has been in office, except for short interludes, he has governed with martial law. The jails, prisons, and island concentration camps have been constantly filled with political prisoners. At one time, 17,000 were said to be incarcerated.

Communist agitation played right into his hands. He accused all opponents of being Communists, even dissident Governors of States. Vargas ruled absolutely. The press was rigorously censored. The national labor federation and all Masonic orders were abolished. All political activities except those of the Green Shirt Integralistas, led by Plinio Salgado, a cadaverous hollow-cheeked man with a Hitler mustache, were outlawed.

Salgado issued his first manifesto in October, 1932, with all the mystic exaltation of a novelist turned demagogue, and from then on the organization grew like the tropical gourd vine. In a few years it claimed a million adherents and began winning local elections. Integralist phraseology, in eloquent misty Portuguese, was borrowed from Nazi slogans; the leaders postulated extreme nationalism, the corporate state, anti-Semitism, anti-Communism. "God, home and the fatherland" was inscribed on their banners.

Vargas exchanged congratulatory greetings with the organization and reviewed its parades. During the Prestes revolt, Salgado offered Vargas 100,000 trained men. Vargas called this a "spontaneous and patriotic" manifestation. Up through 1937 the Green Shirts became virtually the fourth military arm of the government.

In November, 1937, Vargas utilized them and their program for a new coup against the constitution. A new totalitarian state was born, but cut to an American pattern, with many typical features of traditional Latin American dictatorship.

Vargas had a new constitution ready. It abolished all existing local, state, and national governing bodies, removed all officials, except those wholly pro-Vargas. It provided for three governing assemblies, a Chamber, a Federal Council and a National Economic Council, none of them elected by direct vote of the people. The President may name, as governors of the states, federal interventors (usually militarists), who at will can kick out the local

municipal councils. Thus, in a roundabout way, the president names all members of the various legislative bodies.

Even so, no legislation not originated by him can be enacted. All laws proposed pass immediately to the National Economic Council, a hand-picked body. If they are reported back favorably, the Chamber can vote on



Getulio Vargas

them after a single discussion. The President can withdraw or amend any legislation. He can also issue decree laws. Any congressman who criticizes the government can be expelled. Courts are completely under the executive's control. The President may nominate his successor to a hand-picked electoral congress. If his nomination is not accepted, he continues in office, pending popular elections (no time-limit specified).

This mockery of constitutional law has never been submitted to popular vote. Since November, 1937, the President has been ruling entirely by personal decree.

A good share of his governing ideas were plucked bodily from the Green Shirt Fascist program. The Green Shirts provided the bulk of the marchers in military parades celebrating the new order. They loudly hailed the ceremony in which Vargas burned the flags of the twenty states, which comprise the Brazilian Republic, and kicked out nineteen governors. But they were not to taste the fruits of victory. A few leaders were taken into the government, and presently Vargas abolished all political organizations. The Green

Shirts obediently converted themselves into cultural and sport units. But soon they were outlawed entirely. They had been cleverly utilized to further Vargas' dream of personal power.

The Green Shirts had been closely tied up with German and Italian propaganda agents and with German and Italian business firms. One of their leaders was the representative of German arms importing companies. The Germans, previous to the coup, had sold the governor of Rio Grande do Sul a million dollars worth of arms. Most German and Italian firms required their employees to belong to the Green Shirt movement. Green Shirt propaganda was tied in with Italian and German radio, press, and cultural penetration. The Brazilian police, once Vargas broke with the Integralistas, gave out many details of Fascist-Nazi tie-ups.

The totalitarian powers had been well aware that Vargas planned a coup. Shortly before it occurred, Federzone, head of the Italian Senate, predicted that a powerful American state was soon to be added to the Rome-Berlin axis. But Italian rejoicing was premature; Italian and German backers soon found themselves in hot water.

The Integralistas, cheated of victory, conspired. Plots were discovered, arrests made. In October, 1938, occurred the famous "pajama" revolt. Gun fire broke out all over the city. The navy arsenal, radio stations, and other strategic points were captured. A direct attack made upon Guanabara palace. Vargas and his family, cut off from all support, manned rifles at the windows until their perilous position was relieved. Navy officers were seriously implicated, as was also the son of Foreign Minister Oswaldo Aranha.

The government immediately announced that foreign powers were involved in the uprising, but never presented the evidence. Seven German bank employees and an Italian were arrested. Presently German Ambassador Karl Ritter was declared *persona non grata*. New restrictions were put upon German schools and organizations. There were several arrests of German and Italian secret agents. Exchange facilities for German Askis marks were curtailed.

Germany retaliated by threatening to buy coffee and cotton elsewhere. This was serious. Germany has become quite a European middleman for coffee, and, if the United States takes the larger share of Brazil's coffee,

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Chiang: Soldier and Symbol

After two years of guerrilla warfare, Chiang is the personification of China's resistance to Japan

By JOHN GUNTHER

CHIANG KAI-SHEK, the son of a village merchant, who became China's generalissimo and political leader, is a psychological puzzle. He is a terrific disciplinarian; but the enemies he has forgiven—and given jobs to—are many. He has united China (with help from Japan!) more than any man in centuries of history—but he spent ten dreary years fighting civil wars against his own people. He is a popular leader of the stature of Stalin or Mussolini—but he is a bad politician.

He is a strong Chinese nationalist—but he got much of his education in Japan. He is an extremely typical Chinese—who nevertheless believes in Christianity and the Y.M.C.A.

Physically rather slight, wiry, with delicate features, Chiang carries himself with a curious elastic grace. He is quite tall—five feet ten—but is rather short-legged, and likes to be photographed sitting down, or wearing the broad black cloak that is his favorite costume. He weighs 141 pounds. His eyes are remarkable: a very dark grey, deep, both piercing and luminous, and never at rest.

He rises early—at dawn usually—and works hard till nightfall. He thinks that the time between dawn and breakfast is the best hour of the day. He likes to lie down, and does as much of his work as he can on a sofa. After lunch he takes a brief nap, usually falling asleep to the tune of a wheezy old gramophone. His favorite record is Schubert's *Ave Maria*; his friends in the next room know that he is asleep when the record stops. In the afternoon he has half an hour for prayer or meditation.

He is abstemious and methodical. He does not drink or smoke, he avoids even coffee and tea, and for many years has kept a very full diary. Chiang's diary, it might fairly be said, once saved his life. When he was kidnapped in December, 1936, by a group of Sian mutineers led by the sallow-faced Chang Hsueh-liang, young

war lord who protested Nanking's passive policy toward Japan, Chiang's diary was carefully examined. After reading not only the diary but a number of letters to his wife, his kidnapers were impressed enough to change radically their attitude toward him.

The things he likes best are poetry, mountains, and his wife. His idea of a really good time, if he ever has time to have a good time, is to walk in hilly country on a sunny day, or to have a picnic lunch outdoors. When he walks he recites poetry. His family life is happy, and Madame Chiang is his indispensable and beloved associate, but he is definitely a lonely man, a person who admires solitude. His closest foreign friend is W. H. Donald, the Australian newspaper man who has been his unofficial "adviser" for some years. Another good friend is an American missionary, Dr. George Shepherd.

The Generalissimo is sensitive and sometimes stand-offish. He seldom sees people socially. When touring the provinces, he gives the proper official

dinner to the local dignitaries, and then makes no further attempt to see them. When thousands of deliriously happy Chinese sought to celebrate a victory in March, 1938, by gathering outside his house and cheering, he wanted to send them home without a word; his advisers had to appeal to him not to clear the streets. He does not like people, in the abstract—or even the particular.

But when the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang see a foreign visitor, they are conspicuously urbane. Madame Chiang interprets for him, since his only foreign language is Japanese; I had the feeling, however, that he knew more English than he admitted. Madame (everywhere in China she is known simply as "Madame") knows his mind so well that there are no pauses, no interruptions. The Generalissimo is not a time-waster. When I saw him, he first paid a pleasant compliment to my wife, then asked if I would explain the "European situation" in "one or two" sentences. I did my best. He receives journalists for official interviews only rarely.

On occasion the Generalissimo is closely guarded—for instance, he has a bullet-proof limousine with windows almost an inch thick—but at times he mixes freely with his people. My wife and I once saw him on the crowded Hankow Bund, walking along, apparently quite alone. He was so inconspicuous that few people in the crowd noticed him. Members of his bodyguard did accompany him, but about 200 feet away.

Chiang has no hobbies, no relaxations, except reading—especially the Chinese classics. His favorite passage from Confucius is:

In order to rule the country, one must first rule one's family;

In order to rule the family, one must first regulate one's body by moral training;

In order to regulate the body, one must first regulate one's mind;

John Gunther, 38-year-old fast-traveling foreign correspondent whom Harold J. Laski, British historian, calls "one of the best reporters now living," has interviewed almost every important head of state since the World War. Best known for his *Inside Europe*, leading non-fiction best seller since 1936, he is also author of a half dozen other books which X-ray the inner workings of history.

Mr. Gunther's new book, *Inside Asia*, will be published next month. It will do for the Far East what *Inside Europe*, which has been translated into twelve languages and suppressed in three countries, has done for Europe.

In order to regulate the mind, one must first be sincere in ones intentions;

In order to be sincere in intentions, one must first increase ones knowledge.

Chiang was born in the village of Chikow, in the central coastal district of Fenghua, Chekiang province, in 1887. He was certainly not of a rich family, but he was never desperately poor. The family slaved to send him to school, where his record was not brilliant. He was a dutiful boy, however. In 1907 he cut off his queue—symbol that he intended to be “modern.” He studied first at the Paoting Military Academy near Peking, then in Japan where he entered the Shinbo Gokyo, or Military Staff College. He actually served several years in the Japanese army.

In Japan he met Dr. Sun Yat-sen, father of the Chinese revolution. This was in 1909, when Chiang was 22. Dr. Sun was in exile. Promptly young Chiang became infected with Chinese nationalism. He stayed in Japan two more years, but he joined the Tungmenghui, a secret society of patriotic Chinese which was the forerunner of the Kuomintang. When, in 1911, the Manchu regime was overthrown in Peking and the Chinese republic was born, Chiang instantly set sail for China to join the revolution, though this meant technical desertion from the Japanese army. It is recorded that punctiliously he sent back his sword and uniform—by mail!

For five years, roughly from 1911 to 1916, Chiang fought in the variety of minor civil wars and insurrections that implemented the revolution. He was one of Sun's best subordinates, but in 1917 he quit the army suddenly to go into business. He knew that for a successful political career he had to have money—a lot of money. He set out to earn it. First he worked as a clerk in a brokerage house. His consequence as a human being must have been strongly marked, because he was successively “adopted” by two rich and influential men, who became his patrons and helped him win his fortune.

By 1921 Chiang was busy with military affairs and politics again—i.e., he was a revolutionist. In 1923 Sun Yat-sen sent him to Moscow, where he spent six months as a liaison officer. In Moscow he saw Trotsky, among others. By 1925 Chiang was chairman of the standing committee of the Kuo-

mintang, and when Dr. Sun-Yat-sen died he assumed office as commander-in-chief of the nationalist army.

In 1926 began Chiang's most amazing exploit. He set out on the gigantic, the illimitable, task of unifying China by military conquest. At this time the Kuomintang held power only in the extreme south; the Nationalists were considered in Shanghai to be little more than a gang of undisciplined reds; Chiang Kai-shek himself was



Chiang Kai-shek

called an obscure “Bolshevik.” It is quite true that many forces helped Chiang in the campaigns that then electrified the world. The country was sagging with corruption and decay. Rival war lords were eliminating each other endlessly. Not much stiff resistance was encountered. Even so, his achievement was remarkable. He fought with arms; he fought with money. His armies (he himself was sometimes in the background) captured Wuchang in October, 1926; Hangchow in February, 1927; Shanghai and Nanking in March, 1927; Peking in July, 1928. This campaign is one of the seminal facts of modern history. Chiang made China, which was a continent, into a country—at least for the time being.

Then, having consolidated China into what might have been a permanent modern entity, he disrupted it! Ten weary years of civil war began. Why?

At this point we must inspect background. In 1921, Dr. Sun had announced his Three Principles, which in theory at least are still the determining motives of Chinese political action. They were (1) Nationalism,

(2) Democracy, (3) People's Livelihood. By this the eminent doctor meant that China must, by abrogating the foreign concessions, achieve proper national unity; that the country must be prepared for self-government through the establishment of democratic principles, with free elections to a national legislature; and that livelihood must be assured the starving millions by social reform, economic advance, and the redistribution of wealth. The gigantic nature of Dr. Sun's task may be gathered from the fact that, until he invented it, no word for democracy existed in Chinese.

In 1921 Dr. Sun needed help—badly. The western powers would have nothing to do with his struggling revolution, which might end their own privileges. They didn't want China strong; they didn't want China united. Dr. Sun turned to Soviet Russia. He sent Chiang to Moscow.

Russian political advisers then came to Canton, like Michael Borodin; Russian influence in the Kuomintang (National People's Party) spread, though the Kuomintang, it is important to state, never was a communist organization. When, in 1927, Chiang captured Hankow, a government influenced by the communists was established, though it was never a “communist” government. But a Chinese variety of communism, which was largely a program of agricultural reform, surged like wildfire through the left-wing of the Kuomintang, inflaming and irradiating the landless peasants. It was perhaps inevitable that the Kuomintang should split. The right wing, thinking mostly of Dr. Sun's first principle, nationalism, found itself more and more at variance with the left wing, which emphasized the third principle, social equality. The breach widened; the split became irremediable; and civil war broke out. The leftist government in Hankow was overthrown (1927). Chiang overthrew it.

CHIANG went to the right. His friends were dumbfounded. He seemed to be destroying wantonly a large part of the program of the revolution. He seemed to be betraying his pledges, his friends, and the memory of Dr. Sun. Chiang, the revolutionist, became a counter-revolutionary. His former associates and brothers-in-arms, who joined the left, were ruthlessly hunted out and extirpated. A white terror of unexampled ferocity struck China.

Chiang might have been a revolutionist; but he never was a “radical.”

And he came to feel that the revolution was bound to be destroyed unless he could make it respectable—that is, get the support of the powerful business and foreign interests in Shanghai and the Yangtze Valley. He went to Shanghai, bowed to the bankers and international concessionnaires (whom he had promised to throw out) and became their man.

Later his anti-Red campaigns served several important corollary purposes. His long pursuit of the Reds gave him an excuse to put his national army in many Chinese provinces which otherwise he could not easily have invaded. Again, the Red heresy gave him something concrete to attack persistently: an item useful to a nationalist dictator.

Chiang's ten-year series of "pacification campaigns" were unsuccessful. He tried literally to bleed China "white"; he didn't quite do it. The communists never succumbed, and never surrendered. Finally came the kidnaping in Sian and, as a result, a volte-face as astonishing on Chiang Kai-shek's part as the first one. The communists had Chiang at their mercy, he who had murdered so many of their men; and they let him go. The reconciliation was as remarkable as the original split. Chiang made a United Front with these "enemies." After terrible dilemmas, terrible delays, a new chapter in Chinese history began.

The keynote to the Generalissimo's remarkable character is his stubbornness, his tenacity. This delicately featured soldier is a bull-dog. He has no tact. During the Sian kidnaping he dug himself in, emotionally, morally, and never budged—and kept begging his captors to kill him! His Sian diary gravely notes that Shao, the civil governor, advised him to be more "lenient" in his conversation with the Young Marshal, his captor! Chiang talked to the Young Marshal with complete confidence, and never glossed over his contempt for those who had captured him.

There is cruelty in his character, and the ruthlessness of his war against the communists is well known. He had thousands of people executed, many of them for no crime except that they disagreed with him. He is shrewd, suspicious, calculating, and not above the use of guile. On the other hand, both his physical and moral courage are indisputable. He has proved more than once that he has no fear of death.

He is so sure of himself that he is willing to wait until others see their errors, admit that he is right, and come

to him repentant. Thus the extraordinary succession of war lords who, after revolts, have been pardoned, paid soundly, and sent abroad to "recuperate their health." Chiang in this way turns his late enemies into valuable supporters.

Another characteristic is his almost illimitable, dogged patience. Five years ago Chiang was submissively bowing to Japanese demands. He lost Manchuria; he lost Jehol; he saw Inner Mongolia threatened; yet for years he made no resistance, said nothing



Madame

against the Japanese, and indeed punished Chinese who did. Several of his best officers, appalled at what they called his weakness, his pro-Japanese policy, flared up in civil wars. Still Chiang did nothing. Then the war of 1937, still raging, broke out. Chiang fought. But copies of secret lectures delivered in 1934 prove that even then he was passionately telling his best officers in confidence that eventually they must fight Japan; he implored them to prepare themselves for the war that was bound to come. Chiang probably knew, in the early 30's, that successful Chinese resistance was impossible; that at all costs the Chinese must buy off Japanese attack until the last minute, at which time they might have a chance to win.

Chiang makes shrewd use of money. Early in the war he invented a system of wound bounties unique in military annals; he paid bonuses for wounds. Every private soldier wounded in action in China gets \$10 (Chinese) per wound, which is more solid satisfaction to the realistic Chinese than a stripe on the sleeve. Officers get \$30 to \$50, and

generals \$100. The success of this system was immediate.

The Generalissimo's salary is \$1,000 (Chinese dollars, worth roughly 25¢ in American money) per month. His private fortune is not believed to be great, though he made money freely in his early Shanghai days. The fortune of the Soong family, into which he married, is quite another matter. The Soongs are among the richest folk in China, and represent one of the most striking concentrations of power in the world; for the family includes not only the three Soong sisters, but Dr. H. H. Kung (the prime minister of China) and T. V. Soong, China's ablest financier.

The eldest Soong daughter is the present Madame Kung. The second daughter is the widow of Sun Yat-sen. Third is Mei-ling (often Anglicized into Mayling), Madame Chiang Kai-shek. All three daughters were brought up in a religious atmosphere; all went to missionary schools in China before completing their education in the United States, and all—most importantly—were associated from childhood with the Chinese revolution, for their father was Sun Yat-sen's trusted friend.

Madame Chiang, the youngest, is the most brilliant of the sisters. She is probably the second most important and powerful personage in China. Chiang makes his own decisions, but she is a competent adviser, a counselor, an indispensable agent for contact with foreigners and foreign opinion.

When he was 15, Chiang married the daughter of a neighbor, a Miss Mao of Fenghua. The marriage, arranged by his family, was terminated by divorce in 1921. This Madame Chiang is believed to be an old-style Chinese, with bound feet. The Generalissimo never sees her these days, though he continues to support her dutifully. She bore him one son, Ching-kuo, now about 30. Subsequently, he adopted another. After his divorce, the Generalissimo met Mei-ling Soong in Canton.

MADAME is exceptionally good-looking and extremely *chic*. She went to Wellesley, and is perhaps a bit more Americanized than her sisters. She is alert, smoothly polished, full of graceful small talk, enormously competent.

Her courageous devotion to China and Chiang is beyond dispute. She goes everywhere; she does everything; she is like Mrs. Roosevelt. When an air raid comes, Madame Chiang drives up to the scene, sometimes in slacks or

any costume, to superintend care of the wounded. She has been especially active in fostering rehabilitation work in rural areas, in encouraging development of simplified language instruction, and in the creation of the "New Life Movement," a popular program of self-help and betterment.

Her "last" message to Chiang at Sian, relayed by her brother, T. V. Soong, expressed a good deal of her character: "Should T. V. fail to return within three days, I will come to Shensi to live and die with you." (Chiang, reading this, records "My eyes got wet.") But Madame did not wait the stipulated three days; she arrived the next afternoon to make her husband's cause, his life, her own.

On October 23, 1930, Chiang Kai-shek was baptised into the Christian Church. All the Soongs are strong Christians, and when the Generalissimo was courting Madame, his suit was rejected at first because he was not a believer. Old Mme. Soong demanded that he adopt Christianity; the general, stubborn as always, said that she would think the less of him if he assumed a new religion merely to make marriage possible. She was impressed by this; then he promised that if the marriage took place, he would study Christianity seriously and become a convert if he came to believe in it.

Still his courtship met with disapproval, but Chiang was persistent. He interrupted the revolution; he rushed back and forth between Canton, Hankow and Shanghai; he was a man possessed. Finally, in 1927, Madame Kung, elder sister to Mei-ling, summoned a small group of newspaper men and, to their surprise, stated: "The general is going to marry my little sister." The marriage took place on December 1, 1927. Immediately after the ceremony Chiang said: "The work of the Revolution will now make greater progress, because henceforth I can bear my tremendous responsibility with peace at heart."

Subsequently he became a Christian, and is now a devout and even ardent believer. He chose "Why We Believe in Jesus" as the text for his most important radio address in 1938.

The Generalissimo is said to be as much in love with Madame today as in the days he courted her. His last message to her from Sian, when he thought he would die the next day, was, however, couched rather impersonally:

"As I have made up my mind to sacrifice my life, if necessary, for my country, please do not worry about me.

AND WHAT OF CHIANG NOW?

Early Spring may see the virtual end of Japan's undeclared war in China, according to competent observers. What that may mean for Chiang Kai-shek is a matter of conjecture. Safely entrenched in the western hills of wild and rugged Central China, the Generalissimo is expected to continue his guerrilla warfare with the aid of the Eighth Route (Communist) Army and at the same time weld China more closely to the Soviet.

The Japanese, meanwhile, have declared that they are no longer interested in extending their lines beyond Hankow, the Hub of China. Many minor, but no major battles have taken place in China this year; the Japanese have concentrated on mopping-up activities against guerrillas and on "renovating" the occupied areas. Giant bombers occasionally zoom over Chiang's provisional capital of Chungking—now largely deserted by the civilian population—as a reminder to Chiang that Japan has lopped off more than 600,000 square miles of the "good earth." On the basis of the establishment of law and order in Manchukuo, Japan is confident that a New China will arise from the ashes of the "scorched land" left behind by Chiang in his Westward flight—a land devastated at tremendous cost and at terrific loss of civilian lives, with whole cities razed and entire villages, farms,

peasants and livestock washed away by the dynamiting of the Yangtze.

Chiang refused several peace offers in 1938, and at the beginning of 1939 announced a "fight to the death." These refusals to accept peace and then bicker afterwards for better terms have turned many of his once devoted followers against him.

Moreover, at the plenary conference of the Kuomintang in February, there was seen a sign of a rift between Chiang and his communist advisers. Soviet Russia's support to Chiang—the only official outside support he received until late in 1938, when Washington (later followed by London) extended a \$25,000,000 loan as a political slap at Japan—has been thrown up at him every time he started to veer from the communist line. Polish and Finnish papers last July, when the Sino-Japanese hostilities were a year old, reported that Moscow up to that time had sent 1,300 Soviet officers to China, that more than 800 Chinese officers were assigned to 26 Russian Army divisions for training, and that the value of munitions, tanks and planes shipped to China averaged 47,000,000 rubles a month. This aid was doubled at the end of 1938. Thus, while Chiang denounces the puppets set up by Japan, he raises in some minds the question whether he himself will emerge as a puppet of Moscow.

I will never allow myself to do anything to make my wife ashamed of me or become unworthy of being a follower of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Since I was born for the Revolution I will gladly die for the same cause."

EVERY Monday morning, wherever Chiang's government happens to be, a remarkable and significant ceremony occurs. About 600 men file briskly into a hall near his headquarters. The military band plays a march, and the audience comes to attention. Then everyone in the hall uncovers and bows three times to a portrait of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. One—two—three. The bows are made with precision and éclat. The Generalissimo then reads the testament of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, uttering it a sentence at a time, which the audience repeats. It is exactly like a prayer meeting and the reading of the gospels.

The Generalissimo asks silent meditation for three minutes and then delivers a lecture which lasts an hour or longer. He discusses the military situation, exhorts his officers and ministers to further efforts, scolds slackers,

points out abuses, and issues moral injunctions. During the entire performance, the audience—which includes everyone of consequence in the government—must remain standing. When it is over, the General does not say thank you or *au revoir*, but simply a single abrupt word, "Completed!"

Chiang Kai-shek, after 30 years of revolution and civil war, has become the symbol of Chinese unity, the personification of Chinese resistance against Japan. The Japanese know this very well; they have announced that if they capture him he will be decapitated.

Probably Chiang is the strongest Chinese individual since the third century B.C. when the Great Wall was built. His friends say that he is happier now than they have ever known him, more poised, more confident. It is not hard to guess the reason. He himself is now trying to build another Great Wall—a wall to keep the Japanese out, to permit China an authentic national development, to allow China to belong to the Chinese. He is fighting a foreign invader, and not his own people.

Writers Look at the Reich

Eight new books explore aspects of Germany today

Women

Martha Dodd lived in Germany during the first four years of Nazi rule. Daughter of the former American Ambassador, Dr. William E. Dodd, she was part of the social-diplomatic life of Berlin. But her searching eyes strayed beyond the parties and receptions to the German people and their living conditions. Her observations on the place of women in Germany today are included in her new book Through Embassy Eyes (Harcourt, Brace):

WOMEN in Germany have been deprived of all rights except that of childbirth and hard labor. They are not permitted to participate in political life—in fact Hitler's plans eventually include the deprivation of the vote; they are refused opportunities of education and self-expression; careers and professions are closed to them; they can call themselves women only if they submit utterly, both intellectually and physically, to the desires and needs of their men.

There is not a woman in the world, whether feminist or antifeminist, who could raise her head proudly under such circumstances. And that is what the Nazis want. Women should be cowed in spirit, atrophied in intellect, emotionally loyal to the party, periodically and "with no foolishness" pregnant, strong and perfect-bodied mothers, slaves and servants in the home and in the state.

The furious sex jealousy that has been unleashed in the German male has destroyed what free spirit there was growing in German women before Hitler. Handmaiden to her man's work and his physical desires, beholden to the state for automatic reproduction, she has truly been thrust back centuries into the time when women were bought and sold like cattle for their healthy bodies and unprotesting submission. It will take many years before the German woman can once again raise her head and face herself as a human being.

Family

The topic here discussed by Miss Dodd is also the subject of a book by Clifford Kirkpatrick, Professor of Sociology at

the University of Minnesota. In Nazi Germany; Its Women and Family Life (Bobbs, Merrill) he presents the results of a year's study in that country. He has this to say about the attitude of mothers toward the roles of their sons under Nazi-ism:

COUNTLESS German mothers have watched with anxiety the National Socialist agencies and organizations inculcate in their children attitudes and ideals which they cannot share. The intense nationalism, the race prejudice, the glorification of military virtues, disturb mothers reared in a gentler tradition. Ten-year-old sons march with knives at their belts, and mothers who lived through the war years see their sons marching toward manhood, toward military service and toward war.

Almost in the same breath of oratory which eulogizes the German home, the Nazis announce that the great task confronting the German youth movement is the building of community homes for the Hitler Youth. Needless to say, a child cannot be in the Hitler Home and under the parental roof at the same time. In May, 1937, 549 Youth Homes were simultaneously begun. It was expected that the cornerstones of about 1,000 homes would be laid in the course of the year in various parts of Germany. Around 52,000 in all are planned.

The story has it that in a typical German family the boys were called forth in the evening to attend a meeting of the Hitler Youth and the girls

to an affair of the Bund Deutscher Madel. Each left a note of explanation on the table. Mother hurried away to participate in the activities of the Frauenwerk while papa performed his evening duty with the S. A. Men or with the Labor Front. Two more notes were left. Burglars broke into this deserted German home and stole almost everything except Hitler's picture. They added to the pile of notes on the dining-room table, "We thank the Fuehrer for the work."

Terror

Like Martha Dodd, Nora Waln is an American woman—daughter of an old Quaker family—who lived several years in Nazi Germany. In Reaching For The Stars, (Little, Brown) Miss Waln surveys many channels of life in Germany under the Nazis. She found a strong fear of authority, a terror of secret arrests:

As accurately as I could learn, this is how the arrests by the National Socialist secret police have been made. The doorbell or knocker sounded. There stood two, or at most three, tall men with pairs of pistols in their belts—men between twenty-five and forty-five with the daily-dozen-followed-by-a-cold-shower look, the smoothly-tailored uniform, the precise manner, the direct speech, which characterize the National Socialist Party. The chosen hour was one at which they would find the wanted man relaxed, surprising him at a meal or in bed. They asked for their victim and were

Ten years ago the Soviet Union, home of the "greatest social experiment of the twentieth century," was the chief gazing-stock among nations. The writers moved in on Moscow and came out with material for books, magazines and lecture tours; as, indeed, they still do.

Today another converging point for destiny-chasing authors and foreign correspondents is Nazi Germany, where, in roughly six years, a nationalistic giant has come into being. Whether or not this giant is a Frankenstein, there can be no doubt of his size, no question of his challenge to the democratic world.

This is the giant whose muscles have been felt and whose pulse has been taken recently by authors of eight new books. Brief excerpts from their findings on various phases of the Third Reich appear in this section.

admitted. He got together the things they allowed him to have and went away with them.

Other members of the household behaved as if hypnotized. They had no faith that he would have a chance to free himself by any legal means, no hope that the courts of justice would be open to his use. Their minds were filled with memories of what they knew of others who had been taken in this way—disappearing forever, returned in a closed coffin, or, if let out alive, coming back starved in body and crazed in mind. Yet they did nothing. Family and friends let their man go. They neither stayed the arrestors nor insisted that they be arrested with him. They did nothing. "It would have been of no use. We should have been shot."

Persecution

A third woman writing about the Reich not only lived in Germany but married a German. She is Madeleine Kent, author of *I Married A German* (Harpers). Her book features this anecdote illustrating the lot of the Jewish shopkeeper:

WALKING one afternoon down Dresden's main shopping streets my husband and I came on a dense crowd at the junction of one of the side-turnings. Hans noticed that the center of interest was not anything in the middle of the crowd but a small shop a few doors down the side-street, and pointed out that the name was Jewish. "Why, it's my little stocking shop!" I exclaimed, following his gaze.

I had not realized, when I first began to deal there, that the two fair-haired girls who ran it were Jewish. I was now discovering with some amusement that my preference for quick, business-like service had from the first led me infallibly to them.

We now edged into the crowd and learned that the Jewesses had had the impudence to tear down from their shop window obscene posters which had been pasted on it that morning. Seeing the tell-tale smears on the glass which the girls had not had time to clean, an angry mob had collected. A Brown-shirt had gone to inform the police of this act of defiance, and it was hoped that an arrest would follow. For this the crowd waited with the immobility of hungry jackals, while a little farther down the street an anxious group of Jews, mostly men and boys of the poorer class, watched helplessly but unwaveringly. Meanwhile the unhappy girls were

penned in their little one-roomed shop, which had, I remembered, no back exit.

Without stopping to think, I marched up to the solitary policeman who occasionally made a half-hearted suggestion that the crowd blocking the whole roadway should move on.

"Is it forbidden to enter that shop?" I asked civilly.

I have never seen a man look so nonplussed.



Martha Dodd, daughter of the former American Ambassador to Germany, William E. Dodd, and author of *Through Embassy Eyes*

"No, it is not forbidden," he said dubiously.

"Good! I want to buy some stockings," I told him in matter-of-fact tones.

But when I turned the handle of the glass door I found that the terrified girls had locked it, and although I think they recognized me, they shook their heads when they saw me trying to enter. I could only smile and wave before retreating.

Feeling something of a fool, I turned with a momentary tremor to descend the two steps to the pavement. But the crowd only gaped at me, though the group of Jews had moved a few steps nearer. I crossed the road to Hans who was gibbering with rage at my rashness.

"Is the prosecution not enough for you that you try to start a riot?" he scolded, hurrying me away.

"I wasn't trying to start a riot. I only wanted to get the atmosphere back to normal by coming out of the shop with a purchase. I thought that if I did there might be one or two other sane people in the crowd who would follow suit."

"More likely they would have photographed you and had your portrait in *Der Stürmer*," Hans reminded me, referring to the favorite method of pillorying those who disobeyed the notices on every lamp-post: "Whoever buys from Jews is a traitor."

Austrian Discontent

Is the picture much the same in Austria, now a mere geographical section of Germany? G. E. R. Gedy, widely-quoted foreign correspondent of "The New York Times," provides a generally affirmative answer in his *Betrayal in Central Europe* (Harpers), but notes an undertone of resentment among the Austrian subjects whom Germany acquired in March, 1938:

THE Viennese markets furnish a constant picture of domestic discontent owing to the rising shortage of products caused by the exigencies of underfed Germany, which find expression in the drastic price regulations issued by the Nazis.

The saleswomen on the Vienna Naschmarkt are a type in themselves, and it was no wonder that on one of the recent days of shortage half-a-dozen of these amply-proportioned ladies should have marched around the market with their empty baskets labeled with the Nazi slogan *Wir danken unserem Fuehrer*—"We thank our Leader"—until police intervened.

Such little protest demonstrations have occurred in many other Austrian markets. Comparison of the present fixed prices in the Vienna markets with those freely obtaining twelve months ago shows increases of from twenty per cent for turnips up to 500 per cent and more for lettuces.

The discontent of the workers has shown itself in the frequent burning of Swastika flags in the streets of Vienna, in wage movements in a number of Vienna factories, particularly in the metal trades, which have actually resulted in strikes and the extortion of small wage increases, and in demonstrations such as the chalking up on train loads of workers being transported to German labor camps such slogans as "Heil Moscow!"

These are small signs, but all the more significant since they are necessarily spontaneous. The underground machinery of the Revolutionary Socialists has been completely, and that of the Communists partially, thrown out of gear by the Nazi triumph. Although copies of the Communist *Rote Fahne* are already circulating in

Vienna and most Austrian provinces, and the Communist service of information already functioning, it will still be some time before reorganization of the underground movements enables the growing discontent to be canalised and efficiently exploited against the Dictatorship.

To what does all this disillusion and resentment amount? Not, clearly, to any immediate attempt at an Austrian revolution, which could only result in any case in a terrible blood-bath. It does, however, make Germany's new conquest a present liability rather than an asset, especially in the event of war. The whole Austrian army tradition is opposed to the spirit of Nazism and imbued with hatred of Prussia.

Among the rest of the population the conqueror has already to face a widespread spirit of sullen resentment.

Comeback

Though Graham Hutton's Survey After Munich (Little, Brown) is mainly concerned with what the author, who is a former editor of the London Economist, calls a "balance sheet of Europe," he has included this account of German resurgence:

IN five years the Third Reich has built up the biggest land army on the Continent (excluding that of Russia), the largest air force, a vast network of modern strategic highways, the largest economic war-machine, and a navy large enough to dominate the Baltic and, perhaps, to ward off naval assaults upon German harbors either in the Baltic or North Sea.

Moreover, the Nazi architects of the Reich have reduced "statistical" unemployment from 6,000,000 in a population of some 65,500,000 in 1932 to about 300,000 in a population of 80,000,000 at the end of 1938. The word "statistical" must be used, since in the meantime the number of men taken off the labor market and employed by the Nazi Party-State as conscripts in the Reichswehr, in the Blackshirt divisions, Brownshirt organizations (S.A.), Secret Police, labor camps, and concentration camps cannot be less than 3,000,000.

In the same period Germany's output of iron and steel in 1938 was half as much again as it was in 1929, compared with an increase of a mere 8 per cent in the British output; and her industrial production as a whole was running in 1938 at about a quarter more than in 1929, while British in-

dustrial production in the same period showed an increase of only 8 per cent.

Foreign Influence

But Germany has not concentrated upon internal development to the exclusion of her influence-seeking activities abroad. Several author-observers note that she is seeking—in Denmark, for instance, according to Joachim Joesten—to play a strong part in the internal affairs of other nations. In Rats in the Larder (Putnam), Mr. Joesten contends



Madeleine Kent, English author of I Married a German, lived with her husband in Dresden from 1931 to 1936.

that Nazi influence has taken considerable hold in that "supposed Scandinavian Utopia."

THE NAZI grip on Denmark manifests itself every day more markedly. German influences also reach deep into practically every sphere of Danish life and administration. Constant pressure from the German legation in Copenhagen, combined with the lasting effects of press scare campaigns, has gradually reduced the Danish government to a state of semi-vassalage where it no longer dares to manage the country according to its own principles of liberalism and democracy.

The Danish press today is no longer free to attack Herr Hitler or any other Nazi bigwig (as it did, with zest and vigor, up to the year 1934); for years, not a single caricature of Der Fuehrer has appeared in any Danish paper of importance, and if some of his lieutenants are still occasionally car-

tooncd, this is done in such a mild way that not even the most fastidious Nazi censor could take offense.

Nor must the papers speak disagreeably of present conditions in the Reich; these are to be dealt with "objectively" and, as far as is humanly possible, with sympathy. But that is not all. It is not even allowed to discuss Germany's actions abroad in an "unfriendly spirit," let alone to oppose them. Example: while the vast majority of Danish editors strongly sympathize, at heart, with the Spanish Republican Government, they were repeatedly exhorted not to insist on the savagery of Nazi (and Fascist) intervention in Spain, or to discredit Berlin's protege, General Franco.

Communism

One device enabling Hitler to operate effectively in foreign countries, in the opinion of Pierre Van Paassen, author of Days of Our Years (Hillman-Curl), is his exploitation of the bogey of Communism:

HITLER's declaration of war on Communism is a masterpiece of Machiavellian diplomacy. In raising the hue and cry against Moscow the Fuehrer has frightened the bourgeoisie of every country—of which he desires the disintegration—into looking toward himself as the champion of the established order and as the savior of Europe. With the aid of the Bolshevik bogey, the class spirit swept aside the national spirit, so that General Franco, under the direction of Duce and Fuehrer, could launch his war against the Spanish Republic on the pretext of ridding the peninsula of a non-existent Bolshevism to the applause of European conservatism. In reality, the civil war in Spain strengthened Hitler so enormously that in the perspective of history that dolorous episode may well come to be known as the starting point of the Nazi mastery of Europe.

By his intervention in Spain, Herr Hitler, moreover, rendered Britain the immense service of laying the ax to the French military hegemony in Europe (which had been a thorn in Britain's side ever since Versailles). By the creation of a third hostile frontier, he made the Quai d'Orsay so absolutely dependent on England that France lost her freedom of action entirely and was to all intents and purposes reduced to the status of a second-rate power, as much a vassal of Great Britain as Portugal or Greece.

THEY SAY

Quotations from the World Press

Hutchins for President, Says Sinclair Lewis

Fresh from a tour of 29 midland cities and towns, Sinclair Lewis, red-haired author of "Main Street" and other novels and plays of American life, sat in a Chicago hotel and reported as follows as to what he and the Main Streeters were thinking.

"Dewey will not be the next President. At this distance people feel that he is too light and inexperienced for a job that must cope with problems that are chiefly economic. His conviction of Tammany politician wasn't, after all, too difficult. Tammany was shattered and conquered before Dewey ever came on the scene.

"To get a Tammany leader now is about as difficult as shooting a Confederate soldier in 1900.

"President Hutchins of the University of Chicago is the man best equipped to succeed Roosevelt. I'd like to see the Democrats run him and the Republicans nominate Gov. Stassen of Minnesota. Then the country would be safe whoever wins. Stassen, however, won't be eligible in 1940. He's only 31. He's the man for 1944, big, calm, practical, progressive, with the most amazing eyes I ever saw—the eyes of a man who can calm anybody or any situation, and put common sense in the saddle.

"The people of the midlands, as I make out their thoughts, think the New Deal is in the main all right but too expensive. The country people don't think WPA is being run properly. They are afraid of higher taxes. In other words they want the major reforms of the New Deal kept but administered more economically."

The author of "Babbitt" and other novels, which satirized most sensationally midland Rotary and Kiwanis clubs and small-town chambers of commerce, is now wearing a Rotary Club seal as a watch charm. Drawing it from his vest pocket he displayed it with a grin.

"Given me by the Rotary Club of Vincennes, Ind., after a speech I made," he said. "I've addressed two Rotary clubs and several chambers of commerce, and a good many other

kinds of clubs on this tour. I have made as high as four talks a town over radio stations."

Leaner than in 10 years, and bursting with vitality, the lanky Minnesota small-town boy, who became winner of the Nobel prize in Literature and scorner of an offered Pulitzer Prize, has been traveling on one-night stands with his latest play, "Angela Is Twenty-Two."

—Lloyd Lewis, in the *Chicago Daily News*.

The New Yorker— How to Recognize Him

Alfred E. Smith, whose opinion ought to be authoritative, says that the typical New Yorker is a tolerant person who minds his own business. This definition is excellent, and within its limits probably sound enough, but for the benefit of World's Fair visitors we need something more comprehensive—a catalogue of characteristics, brands and earmarks which can leave no doubt when the real thing is encountered. Here, from many experts, is a list of some of the attributes:

The typical New Yorker will, likely as not, ignore a murder (none of his business) but will spend hours gazing moodily into the muck and debris of a building excavation.

He doesn't carry a raincoat on his arm. Coat carriers are tourists.

He will respond readily when addressed by policemen, taxicab drivers and almost anyone else, by the generic terms of "Boss" or "Mac."

He shows a most amazing patience with noisy, abusive and intoxicated persons in barrooms, and will submit to indignities which would cause a hot-headed Southerner or Westerner to swing into action.

When told that he has done a creditable piece of work, his reaction is: "So you didn't like it, eh? Well, what was the matter with it?"

His first question, on learning that someone has done something is: "I wonder what he got out of it."

On the rare occasions when he is ready to fight, he will say, "Want to make something of it?" When he

says that, look out. It is the authentic battle cry of the New Yorker.

When he says, "Let's get together for lunch some time," it means nothing whatever, not even, necessarily, good will.

—Condensed from the New York *Herald Tribune*.

Millions for Relief; Relief for Millions

Nearly twice as much money is being spent for public relief in the United States today as at the depth of the depression in 1933 and 1934. The enormity and permanence of the relief system now encompassing approximately 21,000,000 persons and costing about \$3,000,000,000 in 1938 is being closely examined by Congress in connection with President Roosevelt's persistent request for an additional \$150,000,000 to be spent by WPA between now and June 30.

Public assistance to persons in need in the continental United States in the last six years has amounted to almost \$13,000,000,000.

In 1933 the bill for all public relief was \$1,048,896,000. The first full year of the New Deal—1934—it rose to \$1,745,177,000. By 1937, according to Social Security Board records, it was up to \$2,334,739,000. Last year it mounted to \$2,995,705,000.

The 1938 total includes payments by the WPA, NYA, CCC, PWA, by the Social Security Board, the Rural Rehabilitation Division of the Farm Security Administration and by local governments for direct relief. It does not include transient care, cost of administration nor the cost of materials and equipment for works projects.

Nearly a sixth of the total population is wholly or partly dependent on these relief payments, Social Security Board studies show.

Another significant statistic revealed by the Board pertains to the percentage of total income payments in the nation that now go for relief payments. This figure has risen from .1 per cent in 1929 to 5 per cent in 1938. In 1933, 2.7 per cent of national income went into public relief. In 1934, the percentage rose to 4.3 and has been mounting

gradually ever since, except in 1937 when business revival sent it back to 3.8 per cent. In 1938 it was higher than ever.

"Hard times" which hit business in the last year were reflected in a 50 per cent increase of total relief expenditures. The greatest expansion was in the WPA program. For the current fiscal year, Congress has already authorized expenditure of \$2,150,000,000.

"Why," ask many persons, "should government be doing far more for the victims of adversity at this time than ever before when business is improving and private employment is on the upgrade?"

One explanation lies in the lag with which the relief load follows a decline in business. Relief costs, experience has shown, often go up during a period of increasing industrial activity largely because resources of many of the unemployed are just then reaching a point of exhaustion and because of the temporary nature of unemployment insurance benefits.

—Condensed from Washington correspondence in the *Christian Science Monitor*.

American Hebrew Medal to President Roosevelt

The *American Hebrew Medal* for outstanding service in promoting better understanding between Christians and Jews in America has been presented to a man so deserving, and in a manner so impressive, that we are thrilled at our part in the award.

Never was the power and strength and desirability of democracy more eloquently depicted than at the recent presentation of the medal to President Roosevelt in Washington. If ever there was a scene calculated to make a Nazi scratch his head in bewilderment, it was that presented when General Hugh S. Johnson, one of the President's severest critics, handed the medal to the President. To the mind schooled in totalitarian practice, to disagree is to hate—to speak freely is to commit treason. The dictators of the world brook no opposition because they aren't certain enough of their positions or their form of government to expose them to freedom of expression.

It has been, therefore, the natural conclusion of Nazis that, because of democratic conflict and argument and criticism, the United States is a country divided; that because things are not

done in a democracy at the snap of a fuhrer's whip, democracy is weak. Imagine their confusion, then, at the strange picture of two men, at odds on so many matters, giving and receiving a medal founded upon one of the most vital concepts of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

The President expressed it perfectly when he said: "I am proud to receive this award. And I like the broad spirit of good will which prompts the bestowal. I like also to think that no matter how diverse and conflicting and mutually contradictory our views may be on any number of questions and policies—there remains one issue upon which we are in complete accord. Embodied in the Federal Constitution and ingrained in our hearts and souls is the national conviction that every man has an inalienable right to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience."

As if to emphasize to doubters the strength of our democracy, as well as its unity despite internal disagreements, General Johnson declared: "If trouble comes, the world may know from this how your country will unite to support you. That, I think, is the true meaning of this medal. And so, my old friend, differences of opinion do not count in our country at such a time."

—Condensed from *The American Hebrew*.

Dali: In the News and in the Studio

Incensed because officials of Bonwit Teller had dared to make some changes in window displays he had created for them, Salvador Dali, the surrealist artist, went on a rampage inside one of the display windows yesterday and brandished a surrealist bathtub made of Persian lamb, with such vigor that he smashed the plate glass and toppled through the window into the street.

While the bathtub dangled inartistically on a jagged part of the big hole in the window, Detective Frank McFarland hopped down from a passing Fifth Avenue bus and arrested Dali on a charge of malicious mischief.

When the 35-year-old artist arrived here two weeks ago from Paris he was commissioned by officials of the store to create displays in the windows. At 6 o'clock Wednesday evening he went to work. Throughout the night he labored with zeal.

The walls of the south window were

padded with tuft satin and studded with pre-Raphaelite mirrors. A manikin, garbed only in flowing red hair and some green feathers, was poised in the act of stepping into the bathtub. "Floating" on the water were three wax hands that held windows aloft. This creation was known as "Day," while the other was "Night" in the Dali conception of a theme on Narcissus. The "Night" picture had a bed with a water buffalo at its head-board. In the bed slept a manikin on a mattress stuffed with glowing coals.

After complaints came in, Bonwit Teller made changes. The would-be bather in "Day" gave way to a modestly attired manikin. The sleeper in "Night" was taken out and a standing manikin placed near the sleeper's couch.

After his day's sleep, Dali went to the store at 4:30 P.M. Aghast at what he saw in the windows, he stormed inside, saying things angrily in Spanish and French, declaring he had been "hired to do a work of art" and not to have "my name associated with typical window dressing." Deadlock ensued, but not for long. Dali surged into the south window and carved his name on the police blotter.

In Night Court Magistrate Brodsky suspended sentence, remarking that "these are some of the privileges that an artist with temperament seems to enjoy."

—Condensed from the *New York Times*, March 17.

About fifteen years ago André Breton, a French painter, in an attempt to create a new art, issued a manifesto declaring that he believed in the "future resolution of two states, dream and reality, into a sort of reality" (*surrealité*).

About the time this movement had begun to gain ground young Salvador Dali reached Paris. As he himself explained, the ideas which he was working out in Spain fitted in perfectly with this attempt to depict the world of dream, myth, metaphor and the subconscious, and his first exhibition in Paris, ten years ago, was a sensation.

According to Dali, surrealism should not be difficult to understand, because it deals with what he calls "the great vital constants." Yet as he described his theories he was as incomprehensible as some of his pictures. The "Weaning of Furniture Nutrition," with its woman whose chest had been removed so that the seascape showed

through her, and others with soft-shelled eggs, churches in boxes, melting watches, hats and umbrellas, remained as much of a mystery as ever.

No modernist is better equipped technically than Dali. One may hate or like his pictures; one may feel that they are the expression of a madman or the outpouring of a genius, or even sly jokes on the public; one may laugh at them or be carried away with them, but one cannot ignore the fact that he is a man who knows his trade.

He has said that the only difference between him and a madman is that he is not mad. If this is true, then one begins to wonder if, when he takes his brush in his hand, he does not also put his tongue in his cheek.

This doubt concerning his sincerity was increased the other day. It was increased because there was a fleeting glimpse of humor in his large hazel eyes as he spoke, and about his small sensitive mouth at times a furtive smile was detected.

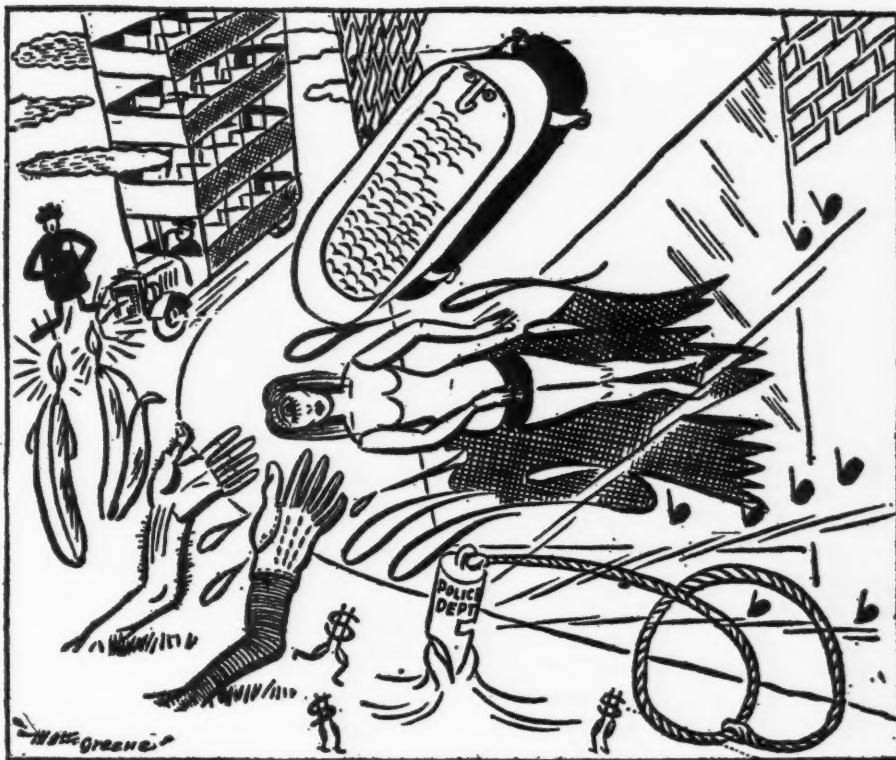
A slight, slim young man, he was dressed immaculately in a form-fitting plum-brown suit, with tan shirt and large-stripe tie. His long, shiny, dark hair was carefully combed backward from his forehead. A mustache almost a hairline in breadth adorns his upper lip, and in front of each ear a curl is carefully set. There is little in his appearance to proclaim him an artist; he resembles more those lithe, agile youths who frequent the dancing floors of continental hotels.

"Surrealism," he says, "is an expression of the subconscious.

"I find that one form will often work into another and one object almost unbidden becomes a new one. Old painters have often done this, and some of them have made heads out of a conglomeration of different objects; turnips may serve as noses and radishes as eyes. It is a form of humor; and I should say that it corresponds, in a way, to puns in writing. I have indulged in it in some of my pictures, as, for instance, in one canvas where the head of a woman goes to form a part of a seascape.

"Besides this, however, no matter what one looks at, other images arise in the mind. Through an association of ideas, one does not only think of the object one sees. The surrealist gives tangible form to the images which a concrete object calls for.

"I am painting a woman, and she suggests motherhood to me. Motherhood in turn brings to mind the idea of childhood. One of the leading char-



Dali and Bonwit Teller

N. Y. World-Telegram

acteristics of childhood is curiosity, and curiosity cannot be satisfied better than by opening a chest of drawers and seeing what is in them. Accordingly, is it not perfectly logical, if these ideas come to my head when I am painting the figure of a woman, that I should make them a part of that figure in my picture?

"When I attended art classes it was my habit to make little imaginative scrawls on the margins of my life drawings. I think you will call them 'doodles' in this country. They were a natural form of expression for me.

"When I went to Paris I found that many artists were painting doodles. They were depicting the processes of their minds, making reality subservient to inspiration. I joined in the progressive march.

"I should say that the two men who have influenced me most are Leonardo and Vermeer, the former by his spirituality, the latter by his objectivity."

At times he works eighteen hours a day for days at a stretch, but occasionally he permits weeks to pass without putting his brush to canvas. Some of his pictures have been completed in a couple of weeks. Others have required months before he considers them finished.

When he is not painting he devotes much time to reading, his favorite author being Freud. Apart from his

work he has few interests, living a very simple life, for he believes for any one doing the kind of work he does the first essential is a normal state of mind.

—Condensed from the *New York Times Magazine*, March 12.

Waiting Line Not Yet Formed for Gas Masks

Don't rush out with a \$1.25 in hand to buy one of those new gask masks. They are not ready yet and the War Department, which has encouraged research in masks for civilians, hopes they won't have to be manufactured. But just in case, the War Department has a neat pilot model, thoroughly tested by the Chemical Warfare Service at Edgewood Arsenal, which can be used as a guide for mass production.

If mass production of the masks gets under way, it has been estimated that the cost would be \$1.25 each—about double the price asked in England, but worth the difference, according to army officials. The proposed gas mask is described as consisting of a face piece and canister similar to that used by the army. Tests indicate that the mask is satisfactory protection against every kind of gas.

—Condensed from *The Baltimore Sun*.

A Nation Half Deaf

Only about half of the adult population of the nation claims to have normal hearing, according to random samplings made in connection with recent United States Public Health Service surveys. Moreover, only 56 per cent of these people who think they hear perfectly passed audiometer tests for normal hearing. Many failed to hear the very high and the very low tones.

Wide differences were found among men and women. In general women detect the high tones better but fail to hear sounds in the lower range. Men do well in detecting low tones but frequently show loss of hearing for high pitched sounds.

The investigation was conducted as a phase of the National Health Survey, and in cooperation with prominent ear specialists. Hearing tests and ear, nose and throat examinations were given to about 9,000 persons drawn at random from the population in twelve cities. The most frequent defect among these persons who erroneously believed their hearing to be normal consists in loss of hearing above the range of sounds most commonly used in human speech, that is, above an audio-frequency level of 3,000 cycles per second.

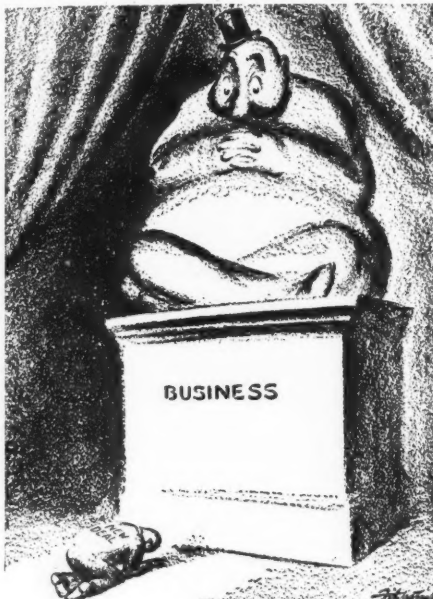
It was demonstrated through tests with bone conduction vibrators, placed on the mastoid bones, that these losses for high tones are due to primary degeneration of the acoustic nerve. This degeneration results from infectious processes associated with certain systemic diseases—such as scarlet fever, meningitis, diphtheria, influenza, and the like—as well as from local infections of the middle ear (otitis media). The common head cold is a frequent cause of these middle ear infections.

The study of hearing loss among persons having noticeable impairments of hearing for speech reveals many new facts. Loss of hearing due to congestion and lesions of tissue in the middle ear, without accompanying injury to the acoustic nerve, is found to be characteristic of deafness among children of public school age. Practically all deafness among persons over 25 years of age involves some degree of nerve degeneration. This degeneration is more localized among males and rather widely distributed throughout the ear among females.

In terms of hearing loss as measured with the audiometer, females

show typically a rather uniform loss of hearing for all tones from about 100 cycles up to 8,000 cycles. Males, on the other hand, show characteristically greater losses than females for tones higher in pitch than 2,000 cycles. Males also show relatively less loss of hearing than females for tones that are lower in pitch than 1,000 cycles.

Knowledge of this consistent difference between males and females with impaired hearing is of considerable importance to the manufacturer of hearing aids. A much different type



St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Stranger in the Temple

of instrument is required in most cases for males and females.

In the case of males, hearing aids should typically amplify sounds above 1,000 cycles relatively more than those below this frequency level. For females, hearing aids should amplify sounds in a fairly uniform ratio through the frequency range from 200 to 4,000 cycles.

—News release, United States Public Health Service

Civil Liberties in American Cities

No city in the United States achieves more than a 50 per cent observance of the civil rights presumably guaranteed its citizens, it is revealed in a nationwide survey just made public by the American Civil Liberties Union. On a rating scale devised by the survey, three out of five of the 322 cities covered make no more than a creditable showing.

The right of free speech apparently

suffers less assault than any other. As seems always to have been the case, the closely related right of public assembly is the most universally disregarded.

In addition to the 42 cities classed as "very good," 152 rank "good" and the remainder are "fair" to "very bad." Little Rock, Ark., New Orleans, La., and Tampa, Fla. received the worst rating. In order of general excellence, the 13 largest cities rate as follows: "Very good": Cleveland, New York, St. Louis. "Good": San Francisco, Milwaukee, Pittsburgh. "Fair": Buffalo, Philadelphia, Baltimore. "Poor": Chicago, Boston. "Very poor": Detroit, Los Angeles.

Generally, the survey shows, "conditions are probably better in the Northwest than in other sections of the country—but not much better. A greater respect for the Bill of Rights, by and large, exists in the largest cities of the country as well as the smallest, but it is worse in the middle-size cities."

The survey, conducted for the Union by Rebecca G. Reis under the guidance of a committee headed by Richard S. Childs, president of the City Club of New York, is based on responses to questionnaires sent to mayors, chiefs of police, superintendents of schools and city counselors, as well as to correspondents of the A.C.L.U.

As to censorship of radio, theatre and movies, New York City alone is rated "very good." Only Los Angeles, St. Louis and San Francisco, among the large cities, report that they have no form of censorship, state or local. Theatre licenses may be revoked without court action in Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.

All thirteen of the biggest cities claim to give adequate freedom for picketing "despite the record to the contrary in certain cities such as Chicago and Los Angeles." In cities of the smaller population groups, picketing conditions are worse on the whole. For all the urban communities, picketing stands next to public assembly as the right most frequently interfered with.

—Condensed from a Press Release by the American Civil Liberties Union.

Changing Tobacco Habits

The Bureau of Agricultural Economics has recently published data showing the changes during the past

thirty-eight years in the consumption of tobacco per capita of our population. The total has risen from 5.4 pounds per person in 1900 to 7.3 pounds in 1937.

The most striking contrast is that between the declining consumption of chewing tobacco and the rapidly rising use of cigarettes. The per capita consumption of chewing tobacco was 2.4 pounds in 1900, but only half a pound in 1937. There was a notable temporary increase during the war. Cigarette consumption used only about two ounces of tobacco per person in 1900. When the World War began it had increased to over half a pound, and when it was over the consumption was more than three times as high. It declined in the depression of 1921-22 and again in the great depression, but by 1937 it had advanced to 3.6 pounds per person and was increasing.

The use of pipe tobacco calls for about twice as much leaf as that rolled into cigars. In the prosperity days of 1920 pipe smoking declined abruptly and cigar smoking sharply increased, but the shift was only a temporary one. From 1933 through 1937 the use of cigars has materially increased and pipe smoking has slightly declined.

Perhaps the strangest fact is that the use of snuff per capita is about fifty per cent greater now than it was in 1900, although it has been very slowly decreasing since 1923. It still accounts for about as much tobacco as is used for chewing, and for more than a quarter as much as is used in all cigars. Probably most Americans never saw anyone take snuff, but its production and sale still constitute a fairly sizable industry turning out products valued at many millions of dollars. —Cleveland Trust Company
Business Bulletin

Prediction from Paris

President Roosevelt will not run in 1940 but, instead, will allow four years to pass and then run for a third term in 1944. So far as 1940 is concerned, the President will leave the field open to an anti-New Deal candidate or, conceivably, to a Republican. —Jacques Fransalès, New York correspondent, in *Ce Soir*, Paris.

Colonel Batista and Cuba's Future

In September, 1933, Fulgencio Batista, a sergeant employed as a court shorthand-writer, decided that the

clique of *politicos* and army chiefs, who had ousted in the preceding month the "butcher-dictator" Machado, were themselves incapable of governing Cuba. Accordingly, on September 4, the erstwhile shorthand-writer gathered his men about him, deposed the army chiefs, seized the barracks and all strategic positions, and replaced the provisional government of Cespedes by a military junta.

Five presidents followed the luckless Cespedes in and out of office in the course of a few months. In the meantime, Batista settled down in a fortress home, gathered about him his loyal colleagues of the army, and held a watching brief. He got himself promoted Colonel and Commander-in-Chief of the Constitutional Army; the strong man was ruler of Cuba while the shadows flitted across the political stage at his direction.

In May of 1936 Batista decided that a show of return to normality must be made. He ordered elections. Dr. Miguel Mariano Gómez, a sound politician commanding general respect, was installed with all pomp and ceremony. Seven months later he was obliged ignominiously to quit the presidential palace and return to his home. The reason: he had refused to sanction a bill promoted by Batista.

The Vice-President, Dr. Laredo Bru, who was and is more tractable, automatically moved up one. And Batista, in his self-contained military garden city on the outskirts of Havana, saw the bill expedited through its last stages.

Now Batista, when he first broke into the political arena, was a man of the Left. His spectacular rise did not upset the resilient Right, which, as everywhere in Latin America, loses a revolution on the field of battle but wins it back in the drawing room. With unctuous adulation, the Right seduced Batista from the Left. For some time lately, however, he has tended to hold a balance in the middle, a feat of tight-rope walking that has all Cuba guessing.

He has now pledged himself to secure for Cuba a new Constitution more fitted to "present circumstances"; a new government, to be elected in May, is to sponsor the measure. In the meantime, a welter of political propaganda has split the electorate into two clear-cut groups. The Right, despite Batista's warning that he will not tolerate Fascism in Cuba, advocates a constitution on totalitarian lines closely following the Nazi and Italian models;

the Left vehemently cries for government for the people and by the people on the Mexican pattern.

The Left, if there is no chicanery at the polls, is certain of an overwhelming majority; fully eighty per cent of the people stand firmly on that side of the political fence.

Batista, who is a great admirer of Roosevelt and of American baseball, recently paid an official visit to the United States, there to exchange views on Pan-American defense. It was rumored on his return that he contemplated resigning from his post of Army Chief to run for President in 1940. The enigma of Batista prompts one to ask whether he will run for the Left or for the Right.

—Condensed from an article by René Rayneri in the *Latin-American World*.

Hitler's New Hide-away

As you read these words today it is a ten-to-one chance that Adolf Hitler is looking out over the Bavarian Alps from a marvelous new steel and glass eyrie perched like an eagle's nest on the precipitous peak of the Kehlstein mountain on the former Austro-German frontier.

The Fuehrer has carved a new retreat for himself out of solid rock high above his chalet Berghof to get the solitude his hypersensitive nature demands. It can be reached only by a lift-shaft cut through the heart of the mountain, the entrance to which is guarded as carefully as the gold in the vaults of the Bank of England. Every chance he gets he sits up in a small glass pavilion, 5,500 feet above sea level, looking down on the snow-covered valleys and mountains below.

Hitler has always hated cities. When he made Bavarian Munich the headquarters of his German Nazi party he bought a little peasant house, Haus Wachenfeld, on the Obersalzberg mountain, 1,500 feet above the township of Berchtesgaden, nestling at the foot of the Bavarian Alps.

He went there to plan his political offensive against the Republican regime of post-war Germany. When he became Chancellor, with his headquarters in Berlin, he enlarged Haus Wachenfeld into the Berghof, which is German for "the mountain farmhouse."

But Berghof did not give the Fuehrer the solitude he wanted. It became the Mecca of Nazi pilgrims. From all parts of the country they herded



HITLER'S HIDEAWAY

Details of Hitler's hideaway are secret, but here is an artist's conception of the 6,000 ft. perch.

towards Berchtesgaden, trekked up the mountain road to stand outside the wooden lodge and chant in unison, "We want to see our Fuehrer!"

So Hitler early last year decided to go still higher into the Alps in search of the solitude he needs. He chose the Kehlstein, a peak of the Hohen Goell range, another 2,500 feet higher than Obersalzberg.

For months engineers and artisans have worked on his scheme. Although it was completed just before last September's crisis, the German newspapers have not been allowed to publish any details concerning it. Nor have his pet photographers been allowed to take any pictures of it.

Hitler wants no intrepid mountaineers risking their lives to shout: "We want to see our Fuehrer" from the crags around his new retreat.

Every chance he gets he bolts from Berlin, the atmosphere of which makes him nervous. In the summer he flies to Munich; in the winter he takes his private train. From Munich his powerful Mercedes car races him along his new concrete motor-road towards Salz-

burg. Then along the new German Alpine road, hewn out of the rock, skirting the German Alps, to Berchtesgaden.

He drives up the hill to the Berghof, past his chalet, up another five miles over winding mountain roads.

If you went with him you would see suddenly in the cliff face two vast bronze doors. As Hitler's car approaches, the doors swing slowly open. His car drives through into the vast cave cut at the foot of the Kehlstein. It is a hall-like cave, walled with unpolished marble, 130 yards long and twenty-feet broad, with garage space for a number of motor-cars.

You would go along a tunnel towards the heart of the mountain and come suddenly to the lift. It is spacious and lined with burnished copper. It has upholstered seats of heavy leather. You would sit on these with Hitler, while the lift ascended the 400 feet to the summit.

The retreat itself is only large enough to hold eighteen persons comfortably. It is painted white, furnished in simple Bavarian peasant

style. You might feel giddy as you approached the vast windows, for the pavilion is on the edge of a precipice. It has a view on four sides and you would look down on the mountainous Berchtesgaden district with its snow-covered mountains and the snow-swept summits of the Bavarian Alps all around you.

You would not go hungry in this eyrie. It has every comfort. Water is pumped up to it by electricity. Electricity heats the room. There are a kitchen and a pantry to provide afternoon tea and the light vegetarian meals Hitler loves.

One thing you would be unable to do and that is to smoke. Hitler allows no one to smoke in his presence.

The eternal peace and his position high up in the air suggest to him, perhaps, the German mythology and folklore which is so much in tune with his own mysticism. It is up there that he broods about the future of his Third Reich. Alone in the snowy silence, he wrestles there with State problems and decides his future actions.

There is always the possibility of some madman trying to bomb the Nazi leader's eagle-nest from the air. So the Berchtesgaden district is protected by anti-aircraft batteries as perhaps no other district is in all Germany.

There is one other danger—that the lift should stop somewhere in its four hundred foot shaft imprisoning the Fuehrer between rock walls. An English friend of mine, one of the few foreigners who have been invited to the new retreat, was shown over the Kehlstein by Hitler. "What would happen if the lift stopped?" my friend asked the Fuehrer.

With a smile Hitler gave the immediate answer. "I suppose world history would stop for a couple of hours."

—Silkirk Pantom, Berlin correspondent in the *Sunday Express*, London.

First-Rate Germans Caught in a Cleft Stick

I find myself compelled to consider Germans as much my fellow world-citizens as Australians or Londoners. I insist that I have as much right to discuss the mentality of the German leader as Germans have to discuss the mentality of Chamberlain, our King or President Roosevelt.

I have not only the right, but, under the democratic tradition still prevalent in all English-speaking communities, the freedom to do so. I am able to discuss things that scores of thousands

of my fellow world-citizens in Germany are debarred from discussing.

I insist that the average German is a first-rate human being, caught in a diplomatic cleft stick, and I will not have him blamed and penalized for the political misfortunes that have handed him over, gagged and helpless, to the present fantastic leadership.

After 1914 I did my utmost to maintain that the war was war against the Hohenzollerns and their militant ideas, and was not against the German common folk. But the baser elements among the victors were all for making Germany pay. Now, again, it is not the masses of the belligerent countries that want a second world-war.

One redeeming feature of Chamberlain's policy is the opportunity given to the common people of Germany and Italy to express their passionate craving for peace. And a study of the ravings and delusions of Hitler, a dissection of "Mein Kampf," a discussion of the problem how to cure Nazi obsessions is not simply of interest, but is the duty of all civilized intelligences.

It is hopeless to think of any permanent understanding with the German people unless we express freely and frankly what must be the secret persuasion of the majority of intelligent Germans. They will only think us time-servers and humbugs if we pretend to rationalize Hitler's vagaries.

—From an article by H. G. Wells in the *News Chronicle*, London.

For Britain Dissolution; For France Decapitation

Immediately after Munich it was perfectly logical that Italy and Germany should put forward some request so as to find new equilibrium for their forces which were pressing against the narrow circle of their borders and to ask colonial revision as an efficient means of this settlement.

To prevent such a program, which is of elementary humanity for any one concerned with the European Continent's future, Britain and France accelerated their rearmament. They have obtained, through official speeches and by soliciting the greatly welcomed business-like intervention of the United States, ideological solidarity which is manifesting itself in measures of military organization for the present and future.

France and Britain also sought to undermine the totalitarian régimes through attempts to depreciate Fran-



TWO FASCISTS

He is an enthusiastic believer in Greater Italy.

co's military victory by offers of financial help. We may add to this manoeuvre the accelerated and feverish purchases of raw materials in several markets. A race is on for the military and economic strangling of the totalitarian régimes, Italy and Germany.

If the French, British and American democracies want to lead Europe to war the only thing to do is to persevere on the road they have taken with such self-assurance. But it must be quite clear that the axis will not bend or recede before such a policy, and if an armed conflict occurs it will be faced with a determination so extreme that the enemies themselves will be surprised.

It is really to be wished that France and Britain realize the enormous danger they face. War would mean revision not only of the European map but also of that of the entire world.

A European war would mean dissolution of the British Empire and decapitation of the European and Imperial power of France. Is this what is desired rather than to grant justice?

—Condensed from the weekly, *Relazioni Internazionali*, Rome.

Chinese Checkers

Mr. Ivan Luganetz Orelsky, Soviet Ambassador to China, is reported to have been recalled to Moscow as part of a broad Soviet program for revision of its China policy with a view toward checking the Japanese advance should the Chiang Kai-shek regime collapse completely, according to a Shanghai dispatch to the *Nichi Nichi* of Tokio.

The Soviet Government is said to be planning hurried revision of its Far Eastern policy. It is hoping, says the *Nichi Nichi*, somehow to turn to its

own advantage the changes being brought about by the continued advance of the Japanese.

Despite notable progress in Communizing China, the newspaper points out, and despite the Kuomintang-Communist collaboration, the Japanese forces are ever extending their area of influence. Nor have the three democratic powers, the United States, Great Britain and France, had any effect in curbing the Japanese, as is evidenced by the recent occupation of Hainan. Should matters continue in this direction, all the Soviets' work of Communizing the Far East will be nullified before Japan's prowess.

To offset this tendency, the Soviet Government is said to be planning a set of counter-measures. The Communist elements within the National Government of China must, first of all, achieve an even stronger alliance with cials and become more active in pro-the radical-minded Kuomintang off-moting anti-Japanism under Kuomintang-Communist co-operation.

In the event of the complete collapse of the Chiang regime, the National Government would be reorganized into a national defense government under Communist dictatorship. The Chinese Red Army, now stationed mostly in northwestern China, would jump to the front lines to consolidate and strengthen the Central Army and the regional forces affiliated with it, all under Communist direction. The recent organization of the National Defense Council, at the behest of the Communists and with Communist participation, is cited as evidence of this part of the program.

The autonomous government of Outer Mongolia would be strengthened under the reported Soviet program, and the Outer Mongolian and Soviet Far Eastern forces would be reinforced. This would bring the Mongolia-Manchukuo border situation in line with that along the Soviet-Manchukuo border.

The construction of a spur of the Trans-Siberian Railway from Lake Baikal to Ulanbator, capital of Outer Mongolia, is seen as more an aid to this Soviet strategy than as direct aid to China.

—Condensed from the *Japan Advertiser*.

Diplomatic Nerves

Typical son of the New Diplomacy is his Britannic Majesty's Ambassador to Berlin, Sir Nevile Meyrick Hender-

son [recalled to London March 17 to report on the seizure of Czechoslovakia].

Tall, burly, sharp-featured, with piercing eyes set rather close together, he can be charming enough or brusque enough to make either great friends or enemies. Yet not even his enemies can deny his efficiency.

He is fifty-six, looks more the soldier than the diplomat, with his erect bearing, his bronzed face. Like the soldier, he says what he means. That is why he is a strong man in the present crisis, why he has been in recent Cabinet conclaves—rare occurrence for the diplomat.

He hoped to be the man to bring about Anglo-German friendship; presided at innumerable meetings of Anglo-German societies, and so far did he go in making complimentary speeches that many people in England felt he was becoming pro-Nazi.

Bachelor Henderson was educated at Eton. He began his career—and nearly ended it—as Third Secretary at St. Petersburg. There was spy-fever at the time. For three nights Henderson, with thoughts of promotion, stayed up hoping to catch the spies who were supposed to be after British secrets. On the third night someone came into the room. Henderson pounced. But it wasn't a spy. It was his Ambassador, who had come down for a paper because he couldn't sleep—and he was not amused.

—From the *Sunday Dispatch*, London.

Father Coughlin— A Fascist Tribute

Father Coughlin is not one of those priests who repeat parrot-like the words of their superiors. Father Coughlin is a man who has given himself up to God and religion, a proud man, ready to attack whoever uses either God or religion as a political tool.

In 1935, he created a powerful radio station in order that his word might reach everyone and to scourge those who represent a danger to liberty. After a few short months, his audience had grown to 150,000 followers; today, at least ten million Americans listen to his words. Father Coughlin, at the head of this army, keeps the White House in a state of awe and causes governments to tremble.

One night, his church was set on fire; Coughlin awoke, cast himself in the flames and rescued the sacred ves-

seis. And as he watched the flaming wreckage, an idea came to him: he decided to exercise his mission over the radio. His first radio talk—a commentary of the Gospel—brought him numerous letters of admiration. Each succeeding broadcast was followed by an ever-increasing flood of encouragement.

As early as 1935, he defended the Duce, for whom he professes an ardent admiration. Lately, he has shown approbation for our policy and warned the world of the dangers which lie in wait for humanity and Christianity behind the demagogic, provocative and anti-Fascist words of the President of the United States. It is not possible for Italians not to express their heartfelt admiration for this apostle of Christianity.

—Editorial from *Regime Fascista*, Cremona daily, owned and edited by Roberto Farinacci.

Income and Taxes in Britain and the U. S.

If it is not news to the average Briton that the *per capita* national income of the United Kingdom is equal to that of the United States, such a fact remains news of which the average American has little knowledge.

That the *per capita* income of the two nations was \$500 for the year 1937 (and no significant change has since occurred) is one of the many interesting findings made by the National Industrial Conference Board in an exhaustive study of the depression and recovery in the United Kingdom and the United States. Here are some others which are beginning to attain significance, especially in the present session of Congress:

1. From the low point of the depression, 1932, the United Kingdom showed a recovery of 101 per cent in total national income and of 97 per cent in *per capita* income. On the other hand, the United States, from its low point, 1933, has had a recovery of only 49 per cent and 46 per cent in the two classifications.

Year	Total Income		Per Capita Income	
	U.K.	U.S.A.	U.K.	U.S.A.
1932 }	\$11,759,000,000	\$43,326,000,000	254	344
1937	\$23,672,000,000	\$64,664,000,000	500	500

2. In the matter of taxation, receipts in the United Kingdom increased 11½ per cent between 1932 and 1938. In the United States the increase has been 193 per cent.

Year	Receipts	
	United Kingdom	United States
1932	\$4,255,000,000	\$2,121,000,000
1938	\$4,745,000,000	\$6,564,000,000

3. The budgets of the United Kingdom for the seven years 1932-1938 showed an aggregate surplus of \$415,000,000, including the \$300,000,000 defense loan. On the other hand, the United States budgets for the like period showed an aggregate net deficit of \$20,400,000,000.

Year	National Budgets	
	United Kingdom	United States
1932 ..	\$165,000,000 surplus	\$2,740,000,000 deficit
1933 ..	30,000,000 deficit	2,607,000,000 deficit
1934 ..	195,000,000 surplus	3,606,000,000 deficit
1935 ..	100,000,000 surplus	2,983,000,000 deficit
1936 ..	75,000,000 surplus	4,327,000,000 deficit
1937 ..	40,000,000 surplus	2,685,000,000 deficit
1938 ..	130,000,000 deficit	1,464,000,000 deficit

—Dispatch from New York to The *Sunday Times*, London.

"Alley Oop" in China

Do you breathlessly follow the trials and tribulations of this fate-forsaken little man as you sip your morning coffee or do you turn first to Jiggs, the hen-pecked husband?

Are you an admirer of the cavemen of the "Alley Oop" or your fancy runs towards the sinister "Boots and Her Buddies"?

The *China Press*—the only paper in China to present six comic strips every morning—is giving you an opportunity to express your preferences—and to win one of 44 handsome prizes.

—From an advertisement of The *China Press* in the *China Weekly Review*.

New Fighting Power for the Soviet Navy

The Soviet Union has sufficient means to protect its borders from any enemy and not only to protect them but also to crush and sink the enemy in his own waters.

Ships, machines, artillery, mines, shells, torpedos and the most complicated and finest naval instruments—all that is needed for further expansion of the navy—can be produced by our plants and our specialists from our own domestic materials. Mighty ships born in our plants now plow Soviet waters.

Bolshevization of the fleet—insuring its complete loyalty to the Communist party, which Joseph Stalin heads—has also been pressed rapidly.

—I. Nadyezhin, chief of the Red Navy's political department, in *Party Construction*, Communist party magazine of the U.S.S.R.

On Record

Significant Speeches and Statements of the Month

"If I Was Right Then I Am Right Now . . ."

Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain was seventy on March 18. On the eve of his birthday he faced a staggering task: to defend his central policy, of European appeasement, just two days after Hitler had shattered that policy by marching into Czecho-Slovakia. While the whole world hung on his words, to learn what Britain would do next, Mr. Chamberlain bent himself to the task in a speech at his home city, Birmingham. The significant parts of the address are these:

Public opinion in the world has received a sharper shock than has ever yet been administered to it, even by the present regime in Germany.

It has been suggested that this occupation of Czecho-Slovakia was a direct consequence of the visit which I paid Germany last autumn and that, since the result of these events has been to tear up the settlement that was arrived at at Munich, that proves that the whole circumstances of those visits were wrong.

That is an entirely unwarrantable conclusion. The facts as they are today cannot change the facts as they were last September. If I was right then, I am still right now.

I might remind you that when it was first announced I was going, not a voice was raised in criticism. Every one applauded that effort and it was only later—when it appeared the results of the final settlement fell short of the expectations of some who didn't fully appreciate the facts—it was only then that the attack began and even then it wasn't the visit; it was the terms of settlement that were disapproved.

After all, the first and most immediate object of my visit was achieved. The peace of Europe was saved, and, if it hadn't been for those visits, hundreds of thousands of families would today have been in mourning for the flower of Europe's manhood.

Nothing that we could have done, nothing that France could have done or Russia could have done could possibly have saved Czecho-Slovakia from invasion and destruction.

Even if we had subsequently gone to war to punish Germany for her actions and if, after the frightful losses which would have been inflicted upon all partakers in the war, we had been victorious in the end, never could we have reconstructed Czecho-Slovakia as she was framed by the Treaty of Versailles.

But I had another purpose, too, in going to Munich—that was to further the policy which I have been pursuing ever since I have been in my present position, a policy which is sometimes called European appeasement, although I don't think myself that that is a very happy term or one which accurately describes its purpose.

I had hoped in going to Munich to find out by personal contact what was in Herr Hitler's mind and whether it was likely that he would be willing to cooperate in a program of that kind [European peace].

Well, the atmosphere in which our discussions were conducted was not a very favorable one because we were in the midst of an acute crisis. But, nevertheless, in the interval between more official conversations I had some opportunity of talking with him and of hearing his views and I thought the results not altogether unsatisfactory.

When I came back after my second visit I told the House of Commons of the conversation I had had with Herr Hitler, of which I said that, speaking with great earnestness, he repeated what he had already said at Berchtesgaden—namely, that this was the last of his territorial ambitions in Europe and that he had no wish to include in the Reich people of other races than Germans.

Herr Hitler himself confirmed this account of the conversation in a speech which he made at the Sportpalast in Berlin when he said: "This is the last territorial claim which I have to make in Europe."

And a little later in the same speech he said, "I have assured Mr. Chamberlain, and I emphasize it now, that when this problem is solved Germany has no more territorial problems in Europe." And he added: "I shall not be interested in the Czech State any more and I can guarantee it. We

don't want any Czechs any more."

And then, in the Munich agreement itself, which bears Herr Hitler's signature, there is this clause: "The final determination of the frontier will be carried out by an international commission"—the final determination! And, lastly, in that declaration which he and I signed together at Munich we declared that any other question which might concern our two countries should be dealt with by a method of consultation.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, how can these events which happened this week be reconciled with those assurances which I have read out to you?

Doesn't the question inevitably remain in our minds: if it is so easy to discover good reasons for ignoring assurances so solemnly and so repeatedly given, what reliance can be placed upon any other assurances that come from the same source?

Is this the last attack upon a small state or is it to be followed by others? Is this, in fact, a step in the direction of an attempt to dominate the world by force?

We ourselves will naturally turn first to our partners in the British Commonwealth of Nations and to France, to whom we are so closely bound, and I have no doubt that others, too, knowing that we are not disinterested in what goes on in south-eastern Europe, will wish to have our counsel and advice.

I do not believe there is any one who will question my sincerity when I say there is hardly anything I wouldn't sacrifice for peace. But there is one thing that I must except and that is the liberty that we have enjoyed for hundreds of years and which we will never surrender.

While I am not prepared to engage this country by new and unspecified commitments operating under conditions which cannot now be foreseen, yet no greater mistake could be made than to suppose that because it believes war to be a senseless and cruel thing, this nation has so lost its fiber that it will not take part to the utmost of its power in resisting such a challenge if it ever were made.

Eden Sees Another Eleventh Hour

Anthony Eden, who left the British Cabinet because he strongly disagreed with "appeasement" toward Hitler and Mussolini—had a dramatic opportunity to say I-told-you-so after the

crashing events of March 15. Speaking in the House of Commons he issued this grave warning:

Last autumn the House was sharply divided into two categories. One of those hoped that after Munich we would be at the beginning of better things and the others reluctantly were convinced that we had gained nothing but a brief respite, at the end of which more demands would be imposed by similar methods.

Is there any member in any part of the House who now believes we shall have more than another brief respite—perhaps briefer than the last—before further demands are made, before another victim is faced again with the alternative of resistance or surrender?

We are confronted with a situation in which there is a rapid deterioration of international standards. I am reluctant to put upon myself any panoply of authority, but the House knows I have spent ten years of my life within the walls of the Foreign office and I want in all sincerity to give the House this warning: I am convinced that if these present methods in Europe are allowed to continue unchecked we are heading straight for anarchy, for a universal tragedy which is going to involve us all.

Conquest of Land; Not of People

Six months ago, Edward Benes was President of Czecho-Slovakia. Today he is a voluntary exile in the United States, where he holds a teaching post at the University of Chicago. When he left Czecho-Slovakia he had the pledge of four governments that its new borders, as fixed during the Munich Conference, would be guaranteed. A few weeks ago he had occasion to reflect upon the character of that guarantee. Whereupon Dr. Benes sent this message to leading statesmen of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Russia:

The Czechs and Slovak people are victims of a great international crime. The people of Czecho-Slovakia cannot protect today, and because of the happenings of the last month cannot defend themselves. Therefore I, as ex-President of Czecho-Slovakia, address this solemn protest to you.

Last September the Franco-British proposals and a few days afterward the Munich decisions were presented to me. Both these documents contained the promise of the guarantee of the integrity and security of Czecho-Slovak territory. Both these docu-

ments asked for unheard of sacrifices by my people in the interest of peace. These sacrifices were made by the peoples of Czecho-Slovakia.

Nevertheless, one of the great powers who signed the agreement of Munich is now dividing our territory, is occupying it with its army and is establishing a "protectorate" under threat of force and military violence.

Before the conscience of the world and before history I am obliged to proclaim that Czechs and Slovaks will never accept this unbearable imposition on their sacred rights. And they will never cease their struggles until these rights are reinstated for their beloved country and I entreat your government to refuse to recognize this crime and to assume the consequences which today's tragic situation in Europe and the world urgently requires.

"Ridiculous, Stupid" Talk of Nazi Ukraine

Two thousand delegates, in Moscow to attend the Eighteenth All-Union Congress of the Communist Party, leaped to their feet with shouts of "Hurrah!" when Joseph Stalin concluded his speech of March 12, three days before Germany seized Czecho-Slovakia. A striking feature of the speech was its lack of invective against Nazi Germany. Is Stalin seeking friendlier relations with Germany? The following sections of the speech raised that question in many national capitals:

The majority of non-aggressor countries, and primarily England and France, have abandoned their policy of collective security, their policy of collective resistance to aggressors; they have taken up a position of non-intervention, of "neutrality."

The policy of non-intervention might be described in the following words: "Let each country defend itself against aggressors as it likes and as well as it can. It does not concern us. We shall trade both with aggressors and with their victims."

In actual fact, however, the policy of non-intervention is tantamount to connivance at aggression, to unleashing war—consequently to its transformation into world war. Through the policy of non-intervention there runs the eagerness and desire not to prevent the aggressors from perpetrating their black deeds, not to prevent, say, Japan from becoming involved in a war with China or, still better, with the Soviet Union; not to

prevent, say, Germany from becoming enmeshed in European affairs, from becoming involved in a war with the Soviet Union; to allow all belligerents to sink deep into the mire of war, stealthily to encourage them to follow this line, to allow them to weaken and exhaust one another and then, when they become sufficiently weakened, to appear on the scene with fresh forces, to come out, of course, "in the interests of peace" and to dictate their terms to the weakened belligerent nations.

It is cheap and it serves the purpose.

Take Germany, for instance. They let her have Austria despite Austria's independence, they ceded the Sudeten region, they left Czecho-Slovakia to her own fate, thereby violating all and every obligation, and then began to lie vociferously in the press about the "weakness of the Russian Army," about "demoralization of the Russian air force," about "riots" in the Soviet Union, urging the Germans on to march further east, promising them easy pickings and prompting them: "You start a war against the Bolsheviks and then everything will proceed nicely." It must be admitted that this looks very much like egging on, like encouraging the aggressor.

The fuss raised by the British, French and North American press about Soviet Ukraine is characteristic. The gentlemen of this press grew hoarse shouting that the Germans were marching on Soviet Ukraine, that they now had in their hands so-called Carpathian Ukraine with a population of some 700,000 and that not later than this spring the Germans would annex Soviet Ukraine with a population of more than 30,000,000 to so-called Carpathian Ukraine.

It looks as if the object of this suspicious fuss was to raise the ire of the Soviet Union against Germany, to poison the atmosphere and provoke a conflict with Germany without any visible grounds for it. Of course, it is fully possible that there are madmen in Germany who dream of annexing the elephant, that is, Soviet Ukraine, to the gnat, that is, so-called Carpathian Ukraine. And if there really are such madmen in Germany, it is certain that we shall find a sufficient quantity of strait-jackets for such madmen.

But if we ignore madmen and turn to normal people, is it not clear that it is ridiculous and stupid to talk seriously of annexing Soviet Ukraine to so-called Carpathian Ukraine?

Religion

The World Greet the New Pope *Condensed from The Commonwealth,* *Catholic Weekly*

THE joy that wells up in the hearts of Catholics throughout the world on the elevation of a new successor to Saint Peter is heightened by the election of a man of the personal attainments of Cardinal Pacelli. His native ability, the unparalleled experience he brings to the papal throne and his eminent spiritual qualities are widely recognized by commentators of every persuasion. Pope Pius XII's first brief message could hardly have been more indicative of his grasp of the world's needs today. It was primarily a plea for peace. It was explicitly a plea for peace with justice.

A primary emphasis in the secular press has been placed upon the new Pope's attitude toward Fascism—Italy and Germany. The secular press, and many individual Catholics, seem inclined always to view the Vatican's "foreign policy" as being on the same level as that of any nation, able to act in the same way and prompted to act for the same reasons. To such a view important exceptions must be taken.

The Pope has one primary function and duty, namely, the spiritual guidance of the faithful throughout the world. He cannot possibly run the risk of giving scandal to any of the faithful unless conditions are such that he cannot act without running that risk. A good example of how little Americans appreciate this point is given by those who have said that the Holy See favored Fascism because it did not at once condemn National Socialism when it appeared in Germany.

For the Holy See to have taken instant intransigent action would have been to run the risk of giving great scandal to German Catholics, and of wounding their national faith and pride and loyalty. No such step was taken. On the contrary, a treaty was negotiated between the Papacy and the German State, and every attempt was made to establish friendly and proper relations. As time went on, it became clear that such relations could not be maintained, and in due course the late Holy Father took action.

In considering the role which Pius XII will play in world politics, then, we must always remember the fact that his first duty is religious and that he cannot lightly run the risk of politically disturbing any group of Catholics. We must, secondly, remember that he cannot commit himself to any particular system or theory of government as being better or more moral than some other system. We can expect that whenever the official policy of any country runs counter to Catholic doctrines; whenever the internal policy of any country threatens the freedom of action of Christians; whenever a government deliberately attempts to eliminate Christianity, he will emphatically protest, and further, that he will use every means in his power to prevent any of these things happening.

MEANTIME, the various tributes paid to Pius XII in the American press definitely reflect the political anxieties of our troubled times. Said the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*:

Even in normal times Cardinal Pacelli's elevation would be hailed as a distinguished choice and another instance of the wisdom and spiritual integrity of the ancient Church of Rome. But in view of the special conditions now existing the action of the cardinals, in its rebuke to Europe's monsters on horseback, is no less than thrilling.

The *Baltimore Sun* included some personal reminiscences about Pius XII:

Those who were fortunate enough to meet him when he made his unprecedented tour of the United States found him, first of all, an easy and agreeable companion. His English was weak, but that fact did not halt the flow of his ideas and only slightly handicapped those who talked to him. The reason was not far to seek. He had the gift of friendship. His eyes, though shrewd and penetrating, were kindly and not lacking in humor. There was sympathy in his glance even when

it rested but momentarily on the one before him, the same kind of sympathy which so many thousands found in the late Cardinal Gibbons. Indeed the likeness between him and the Cardinal Archbishop of Baltimore was remarked upon by many persons. As Pius XII he puts on the Ring of the Fisherman at a time when the Church, though strong and unshaken, is beset by enemies more than ordinarily ruthless and brutal. No one can say with what success he will meet the continuing attack. But it is certain that he will meet it with wisdom, with dignity, and with a skill that, though inspired from within, will be the more resourceful because of his long training in the arts of diplomacy and his natural aptitude for meeting and understanding of all sorts and conditions of men.

Another commentary on Pius XII based on personal observation was one of the syndicated columns of Dorothy Thompson:

Those of us who were foreign correspondents in Berlin during the days of the Weimar Republic were not unfamiliar with the figure of the doyen of the diplomatic corps. Tall, slender, with magnificent eyes, strong features and expressive hands, in his features and his bearing Eugenio Archbishop Pacelli looked every inch what he was—a Roman nobleman, of the proudest blood of the western world.

The *San Francisco Monitor*, official archdiocesan paper, intimated some of the religious aspects of the elevation of Pius XII:

He is a man divinely ordained and a man historical. The life of the Church is the life of mankind. All else depends on it because the God-Man created it to be the life of men. The original creation, the sequence of natural life, is not independent of the God Who sent His Only Begotten Son to be the Light and Life of the World. Whom Christ chooses by the agency of men through the inspiration of the Holy Ghost to be His Vicar on Earth is the chief agent of the historical process in the time that is allotted to him.

Science

Manifesto by a Physicist

Percy W. Bridgman, Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at Harvard, is a towering figure in the scientific world. His researches on the effects of enormously high pressures, his books on that subject and on electrical conduction in metals, are considered of the first importance. Headlines flared across front pages, therefore, when he announced that he would no longer show his apparatus to or discuss his experiments with citizens of any totalitarian state. The announcement, published in Science, organ of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, follows:

MANY scientists must have been profoundly disturbed by the revelations of recent events as to what the implications of the totalitarian philosophy of the State really are. There would seem not to be any room on the same planet for totalitarian States and States in which the freedom of the individual is recognized.

Many scientists must have been moved to try to find something to do about it. In my own case this urge to find something to do has resulted in the decision to close my laboratory to visits from citizens of totalitarian States.

I have had the following statement printed, which I hand to any prospective visitor who may present himself:

"I have decided from now on not to show my apparatus or discuss my experiments with the citizens of any totalitarian State. A citizen of such a State is no longer a free individual, but he may be compelled to engage in any activity whatever to advance the purposes of that State. The purposes of the totalitarian States have shown themselves to be in irreconcilable conflict with the purposes of free States.

"In particular, the totalitarian States do not recognize that the free cultivation of scientific knowledge for its own sake is a worthy end of human endeavor, but have commandeered the scientific activities of their citizens to serve their own purposes. . . .

"Cessation of scientific intercourse with the totalitarian States serves the double purpose of making more diffi-

cult the misuse of scientific information by these States and of giving the individual opportunity to express his abhorrence of their practices.

"This statement is made entirely in my individual capacity and has no connection whatever with any policy of the university."

Science has been rightly recognized as probably the only human activity which knows no nationalisms; for this reason it has been a potent factor making for universal civilization. Action such as this is therefore to be deeply deplored and to be undertaken only after the gravest consideration.

But it seems to me that the possibility of an idealistic conception of the present function of science has been already destroyed, and the stark issues of self-survival are being forced upon us.

Perhaps the only hope in the present situation is to make the citizens of the totalitarian States realize as vividly and as speedily as possible how the philosophy of their States impresses and affects the rest of the world. Such a realization can be brought about by the spontaneous action of the individual citizens of the nontotalitarian States perhaps even more effectively than by their governments. . . .

Photographing Odors

A physicist at the Sorbonne, Prof. Henry Devaux, has recently discovered a method of photographing the curious patterns created by certain odors on a thin film of talc particles floating on mercury. He affixes a flower petal to the under surface of a glass plate, which is placed over the open top of a shallow tray containing mercury. While one watches, the powdered talc slowly arranges itself into a definite pattern.

Professor Devaux says this strange action comes from the impinging upon the talc of minute particles emanating from "odor waves" radiated by the flower. These same particles strike the sensitive membranes of the human nose, causing the sensation we term "smell."

—From the *Kansas City Star*

Man-Made Sea Level

A little black gadget the size of a

child's fist may solve for airline officials a problem as old as the industry itself: how to reassure people who shun flying because of heart trouble, dizziness, or pressure on the ear drums. It is a unique mask device designed for aircraft use by three scientists of the Mayo Foundation, of Rochester, Minnesota.

In developing the apparatus, which is light, easily attached, and which does not touch the mouth, the Mayo scientists have made stratosphere flying for commercial airlines possible. Within three years, a Northwest Airline executive predicted a few weeks ago, after personally testing the equipment at 30,000 feet, passengers will be zooming from Coast-to-Coast through the stratosphere in less than ten hours—and consider it as commonplace as they do the New York to Washington air run today.

The inventors of the device, which fits over the nose and is connected to a small artificial rubber lung, are Doctors W. R. Lovelace, A. H. Bulbulian, and W. M. Boothby. The device will provide sea level air in extremely high altitudes. Said Dr. Lovelace: "Some people are able because of their physical condition to fly at high altitudes without discomfort. Others may wish to use oxygen when flying at 10,000 feet or higher. Those who need it, or wish it, will have it available."

For Believe It or Not

Contributions of research laboratories of American Industry form the central theme of the General Motors "Progress on Parade" exhibit in the Golden Gate International Exposition. Built under the direction of Charles F. Kettering, head of the General Motors Research Laboratories, the presentation takes its audiences behind the scenes of a modern laboratory. One feature is the "Frig-o-Therm," a refrigerator upon which a complete meal can be cooked very rapidly. Housewives are given a peek into the future of kitchen equipment when they see an egg fried on a cold metal container of ice cream. The development of synthetics is dramatized by the display of raw materials made from sand, milk, wood and glass. Among the other marvels are a flashlight that "talks," light that can be poured like water, and an invisible symphony orchestra conducted by the mere motion of the hand through beams of light.

Business

ON March 14 President Roosevelt asked Congress for an additional \$150,000,000 for the WPA and expressed doubt of proposed reductions in taxes on business. On the same day Speaker of the House Bankhead predicted that there would be no "serious effort made for general revision of the tax laws at this session of Congress."

All this confirmed pessimists among business men in forecasts that nothing would come of the so-called "appeasement" policy of the Government toward business. But optimists comforted themselves with the conviction that, if taxes would not be reduced, neither would they be increased—contrary to the prospect of three months ago. And they pasted in their hats these conciliatory statements made by Government officials since the first of the year:

President Roosevelt: "We have now passed the period of internal conflict in the launching of our program of social reform. . . . The first duty of our statesmanship today is to bring capital and manpower together."

—Message to Congress, Jan. 4.

Secretary Morgenthau: "The business man should understand that the Administration wants him to go ahead, and legislation should be of such a nature that it will not be a deterrent, so the business man can make a profit."

—Statement to press, Feb. 23.

Secretary Hopkins: "With the emphasis shifted from reform to recovery, this Administration is now determined to promote that recovery with all the vigor and power at its command."

—Address at Des Moines, Feb. 24

Chairman Doughton, of the House Ways and Means Committee: "I welcome Secretary Morgenthau's suggestion that we re-examine the whole tax structure with the desirable objective of removing such deterrents to business enterprise and economic recovery as may be found to exist."

—Statement to press, Feb. 24.

Speaker Bankhead: "The President, the Administration, and Congress are all interested in cooper-

ating with business. . . . I believe it is the definite policy of the Administration to do anything within reason without abandoning what it has done in the way of economic reform."

—After a White House Conference, March 6.

THE War Department's new program of educational orders for American industry is now well under way. It seems likely that the \$2,000,000 already appropriated will be increased by a further \$32,000,000 asked for by the President in his recent special message to Congress on national defense.

The educational order is intended to spread through our industrial structure the experience and the facilities necessary for getting munitions to our armed forces in an emergency. As long as all War Department orders go to the lowest bidder, firms already equipped for this sort of work can underbid all competitors. Thus the private manufacture of war material would be confined to relatively few concerns. In time of war this would result in serious delays before other plants could "tool up," and acquire the experience necessary to go on a mass production basis. This was the case in the last war. "The art of arms production," observes *Army Ordnance* editorially, "is a dead art unless certain publicly-supported establishments keep that art alive. If private industry will be called upon to operate in that art in time of war, then it must be educated along practical lines."

Present laws require that educational orders be issued only for "critical items," which must be: (a) essential; (b) standard; (c) non-commercial; (d) required in mass quantities in war. And it must be shown that mass production could not be attained within six months by any other method.

The educational order system is a cooperative venture of the Government and industry. Production under any given order will be small; therefore no profit may be expected. No firm which has been given an educational order can receive another for three years.

Consider a hypothetical case. The War Department decides to place an

educational order for the machining of 75-mm. shell. Circular advertisements, with drawings and specifications, are sent to bidders known to be competent to manufacture this item in time of war. The bidders also are referred to Frankford Arsenal for further information.

X Company is one of the firms receiving this circular. The problem is to set up the plant, to machine 5,000 shells, and to test the desired war production rate of 4,800 per eight-hour day scheduled for that plant. X Company's production department must then prepare its bids on the following bases: drawings and specifications for special aids to manufacture which will be required; manufacture or procurement of necessary special machinery, tools, dies, and gages (this equipment to become the Government's property on completion of the order, and to be stored and maintained by the bidder); actual machining of 5,000 shell; preparation of a permanent production study.

The study includes these features: (1) a general plan for converting the plant to produce 4,800 shell per day; (2) a list of new equipment required; (3) lists of accessories to be supplied on sub-contract, with preferred sources; (4) lists of raw or semi-finished materials; (5) skilled labor requirements; (6) estimated unit cost; (7) requirements of fuel, power and transportation.

X Company becomes the successful bidder, not necessarily the lowest bidder. Forgings are ordered from another producer (who incidentally learns how to make a 75-mm. forging in the process); tools and gages are made or purchased, and an experimental production unit is set up. Government inspectors gage and accept the work as it is completed.

During the work, notes are kept for permanent record. On delivery of the completed shell, the production study is handed to the Government.

There are 55 items on the War Department's "critical" list. Six were selected this year for a test of the system (gas masks, searchlights, 75-mm. shell, recoil mechanisms for anti-aircraft guns, and the new semi-automatic rifles). With additional appropriations, other items on the list can be "put into the hopper." A total of 248 plants may eventually receive education in some phase of arms production. Cooperation of industry so far has been highly satisfactory.—C.F.E.

CHRONOLOGY

Highlights of Current History, Feb. 8—March 15

THE NATION

Foreign Relations

- Feb. 11—Senator La Follette urges the Senate to beware of the "deadly parallel" of 1917.
- Feb. 12—In a Lincoln Day address in New York City, Secretary of Agriculture Wallace ridicules "Aryanism."
- Feb. 18—Senator Nye of North Dakota, speaking before the National Republican Club in New York, proposes a "mind-our-own-business" foreign policy, in criticism of the Administration's activities in Europe and Asia.
- At Key West, before departing to witness the naval maneuvers in the Atlantic, President Roosevelt warns the dictator nations to stay out of the Americas.
- Feb. 20—22,000 Nazis of the German-American Bund hold a rally in Madison Square Garden, protected by 1,700 New York police.
- Feb. 21—Representative Vinson of Georgia, chairman of the House Naval Affairs Committee, says the United States will have to be on the side of France and Great Britain in the final struggle with the dictator states.
- Mar. 2—Senators Walsh and Johnson defend isolation. Senator Logan comes out in favor of aiding democracies abroad.
- Mar. 3—The election of Pope Pius XII arouses talk of the renewal of United States relations with the Vatican.
- Mar. 4—Laurence A. Steinhardt is named Ambassador to Russia. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers is recalled from Spain for consultation.
- Mar. 9—Secretary of State Hull and Brazilian Foreign Minister Oswaldo Aranha exchange notes regarding Brazilian-American commercial and financial arrangements.

Defense

- Feb. 15—The House, by a vote of 367-15, passes a bill authorizing the purchase of 3,000 more airplanes for the Army.
- Feb. 21—Major-General Arnold, chief of the Army Air Corps, tells the Senate Military Affairs Committee that Germans could attack us from a South American base and that our defenses in that neighborhood should be strengthened.
- Assistant Secretary of State Francis B. Sayre, at a hearing of the Senate Territories Committee, says that our interests demand that we do not let the Philippines drift, in view of the general situation in the Far East.
- Feb. 22—The Senate Military Affairs Committee recommends that the limit of the Army Air Corps strength be raised from 5,500 to 6,000 planes.
- Feb. 23—The House rejects the Guam defense bill by a vote of 205-168.
- Feb. 24—The Military Affairs Committee of the Senate approves a \$102,000,000 bill

for the purchase and storage of raw materials needed in time of war.

- MAR. 1—Senator Lundeen says the people would be "shocked and stunned" if they knew what was said at the White House on Jan. 13, at the secret conference between the President and the Senate Military Affairs Committee.

The House Appropriations Committee reports favorably an appropriation of \$499,857,936 for the War Department for the fiscal year 1940, largest since the World War. A sub-committee reports that military intelligence service in Latin America will be increased.

- Mar. 3—The House approves the \$499,857,936 Army Supplies bill unanimously.

President Roosevelt says the naval war games demonstrated the need of naval bases at St. Juan and St. Thomas.

- Mar. 6—The Senate approves a 6,000 Army plane limit, to replace the 5,500 limit set by the House.

- Mar. 7—President Roosevelt comes out against neutrality laws, and again opposes the passage of the Ludlow resolution for a war referendum.

- Mar. 11—A United States Naval report shows a property investment of more than \$3,500,000,000.

Congress

- Feb. 9—The House passes a bill to tax the income of all government workers, Federal, State, and local, 269-103. The bill goes to the Senate.

- Feb. 23—A new reorganization bill is introduced in the House by Representatives Cochran and Warren.

- Feb. 28—Senator Wagner introduces a bill for an extensive national health program in the Senate, calling for an expenditure of \$80,000,000 in the first year.

- Mar. 9—Representative Dies introduces three anti-Fascist, anti-Communist bills in the House, requiring registration of both, barring them from government jobs, and ordering deportation of those who are aliens.

- Mar. 11—Senator Wheeler denounces the Reorganization bill as depriving Congress of its legitimate powers.

- Mar. 14—Speaker Bankhead endorses the move for some sort of retirement pay for Congressmen.

Labor

- Feb. 8—Secretary Perkins, at a hearing of the House Judiciary Committee, defends her acts regarding Harry Bridges and other CIO leaders.

- Feb. 10—The AF of L urges drastic revisions in the set-up of the National Labor Relations Act, proposing a board of 5 instead of 3.

- Feb. 11—Mayor La Guardia of New York tells the Central Trades and Labor Council that President Roosevelt is the best friend labor ever had in Washington.

- Feb. 13—The National Labor Relations Board orders the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation to abandon its "em-

ployee representation" plans at Fox River and Boston.

- Feb. 25—President Roosevelt calls upon the AF of L and the CIO to make peace, and requests that they send negotiators to the White House.

- Feb. 27—The Supreme Court outlaws sit-down strikes, 5-2, with Justices Reed and Black dissenting.

- Mar. 1—The House votes 137-93 to transfer control over Wage-Hours funds from Secretary Perkins to Elmer F. Andrews, Wage and Hours Administrator.

- Mar. 7—The AF of L rejects the CIO plan for joint formation of the American Congress of Labor.

- Mar. 12—The President urges the resumption of AF of L and CIO talks.

- Mar. 15—The House Labor Committee discusses changes in the Wage and Hours Law, looking toward the exemption of white-collar workers, and giving the Administration wider powers.

Business

- Feb. 17—President Roosevelt tells business and industry that no new taxes are planned.

George H. Davis, president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, says, in San Francisco, that the New Deal is moving the country toward state capitalism.

- Feb. 18—The Golden Gate Exposition (San Francisco Fair) opens.

- Feb. 20—The House passes a bill extending the life of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to June 30, 1941.

- Feb. 24—The Department of Commerce reveals that Japan's trade with this country fell off one-third in 1938.

- Mar. 8—Department of Commerce reports that imports from Mexico in January of this year were \$1,300,000 over imports in January, 1938.

Preston Delano, Controller of the Currency, reports that the total assets and deposits of the national banks as of December 31, 1938, were the highest in the history of the national banking system.

Law

- Feb. 13—Justice Louis D. Brandeis retires from the Supreme Court at the age of 82.

- Feb. 22—New York Supreme Court Justice Ferdinand Pecora, retiring president of the National Lawyers' Guild, creates a split in that organization by his speech against radicalism.

- Mar. 2—A Federal grand jury indicts former United States Circuit Court of Appeals Judge Martin T. Manton on charges of obstructing justice and taking money.

Relief

- Mar. 9—The WPA says it will have to cut a million from its rolls April 1 unless Congress votes additional \$150,000,000.

The States

- Feb. 10—The attorneys-general of 39 States protest to the Senate finance sub-committee the proposed bill ending income-tax exemption for government workers, on grounds that the bill invades States' rights.

INTERNATIONAL

- Feb. 8—Arabs demand autonomy and abrogation of Balfour Declaration at Palest-

time Conference in London. Jews insist on maintenance of National Home.

Feb. 9—Great Britain and France agree to recognize General Franco's regime.

Feb. 10—Pope Pius dies at age of 81, after long illness.

Feb. 11—Terrorist activities laid to Irish Republican Army continue to alarm Great Britain.

Feb. 13—Mexican government expropriates 50,000 American-owned acres for collective farms.

Feb. 14—Argentine government announces heavy curtailment of imports from United States.

Feb. 15—British government announces it will start building two more capital ships for 1939-40, bringing total of battle-ships under construction to nine.

Feb. 16—British and French fleets commence combined maneuvers in Mediterranean.

Feb. 17—The shooting of a Fascist militiaman before the Torlonia Palace is described officially as "the act of a madman." Rome press denies it was attempt on Mussolini's life.

Feb. 18—France reclaims land on Bab El Mandeb strait formerly ceded to Italy, fearing attack in Africa.

Feb. 19—Peruvian General Antonio Rodriguez is killed in an attempt to overthrow President Oscar Benavides.

Feb. 20—The British 35,000-ton battleship *George V* is launched, first of a series of line ships equalling total building programs of Germany, Italy, and Japan.

Feb. 21—British House of Commons votes to increase government's borrowing limit from £400,000,000 to £800,000,000, all for national defense.

Feb. 23—Italian foreign minister Ciano leaves for Warsaw to learn extent of Franco-Polish alliance.

Feb. 24—Premier Daladier of France wins vote of confidence on recognition of Franco.

Hungary dissolves its Nazi Party, but signs Anti-Comintern Pact with the Axis powers.

Feb. 25—The Italian government orders all its nationals to leave France.

Polish students riot before German Embassy in Warsaw. Italian Count Ciano is welcomed by Polish press.

Feb. 26—The British delegation to the Palestine conference announces its intention of ending the mandate.

Feb. 27—Jewish delegates to Palestine conference reject the proposals for an independent Palestine.

Feb. 28—Chamberlain gets vote of confidence on recognition of Franco.

Mar. 1—Eugenio, Cardinal Pacelli, Papal Secretary of State, is elected Pope, and assumes name of Pius XII.

Mar. 4—German finances are strained by armaments expense, forcing payments in vouchers.

Mar. 5—French leaders confer in Tunis on African defenses.

Mar. 8—Great Britain announces it will put 300,000 men in France in case of war.

Mar. 12—Dr. Karl Sidor is named new premier of Slovakia. Nazis back separatist movement.

Mar. 14—Hitler orders Prague to set up three states, while German army prepares to move on Slovakia.

Mar. 15—Hitler dissolves Czecho-Slovak na-

tion, making Bohemia-Moravia a protectorate. Nazi troops enter Prague.

Rumanian troops invest border towns of Carpatho-Ukraine to protect minorities.

Hungarian troops march across Ruthenia, making a common frontier with Poland.

Spanish Civil War

Feb. 8—General Miaja, commander-in-chief at Madrid, ready to make peace. British warship sails to negotiate surrender of loyalist Minorca Island.

Feb. 10—Loyalist government transferred to Madrid.

Feb. 12—Loyalists broadcast appeal urging united resistance. Madrid shelled.

Feb. 13—French-Spanish roads blocked with throngs returning to rebel Spain.

Feb. 18—Loyalist government authorizes Great Britain and France to negotiate peace on a basis of clemency.

Feb. 20—Franco renews war as peace negotiations fail.

Feb. 26—President Azana abandons post in Paris and goes to Geneva, leaves powers to settle with Franco.

Mar. 5—General Segismundo Casado forms new national defense council, and ousts Premier Negrin.

Mar. 8—Defiant Communists fighting Miaja's forces in Madrid streets.

Mar. 12—National defense council reports the Communists' uprising totally crushed.

Sino-Japanese War

Feb. 14—Japanese seize Hainan Island, off Indo-China coast, strategic spot on the British route between Hong Kong and Singapore.

Feb. 19—Chen Lu, director of foreign affairs in the new Nanking regime, is assassinated at Shanghai by a Chinese terrorist band.

Feb. 21—Liang Hung-chih succeeds Chen Lu as Japanese authorities accuse officials in the International Settlement of harboring terrorists.

Feb. 22—100,000 "national salvation" troops reported ready to rally around Wu Peifu, for drive against Chiang Kai-shek in April.

Moscow recalls ambassador from Chungking to prepare for establishment of a Communist dictatorship in China.

Mar. 1—Japanese mop up guerrillas in Chahar, driving 10,000 into Inner Mongolia.

Mar. 6—Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo, Chinese ambassador to France, says in Paris that Chiang is training 200 divisions for a counter-drive, and estimates number of guerrillas behind Japanese lines as between 2 and 3 million.

Mar. 8—Chinese start drive along Hankow highway towards Ichang, but fall back in confusion as 2,000 desert.

Mar. 12—Fu Siao-en, mayor of Japanese-sponsored Greater Shanghai, demands that the International Settlement and foreign consuls extend greater control to Japanese.

Mar. 15—Soviet-Japanese dispute over auction of 293 fishing lots formerly assigned to Japan, off Siberian coast, brings threats in Diet meeting at Tokyo that Japan will fight over the valuable waters. Tokyo refuses to bid at auction as treaty expires.

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Travel . . .

WITHIN the next thirty days, the early birds among American travelers will be off on spring trips to Europe. More and more of these fortunate wayfarers include a tour through the Soviet Union in their migrations. Among the sights that draw them to the U.S.S.R. are not only vast social and economic experiments, but also strange architecture, engrossing racial types and village scenes, and age-old as well as brand-new ways of doing things.

Moscow, capital of the Soviet Union and now fifth largest city in the world, is of special interest to appreciative American tourists. It is now easily accessible by train (for instance from Berlin), or by ship up the Baltic Sea, and in (let us say) through Leningrad. A North Cape Cruise and a good view of Finland, the little Baltic states, or the Scandinavian countries, can be conveniently combined with a trip to Russia. Or the contrasting Nazi and Soviet regimes can be compared in one train ride from Bremen or Hamburg, via Poland, to Stalin's headquarters in Moscow's historic walled citadel, the Kremlin.

Moscow was the old original capital and nucleus of Holy Russia. That great organizer, Peter the Great, built Petersburg (now Leningrad) early in

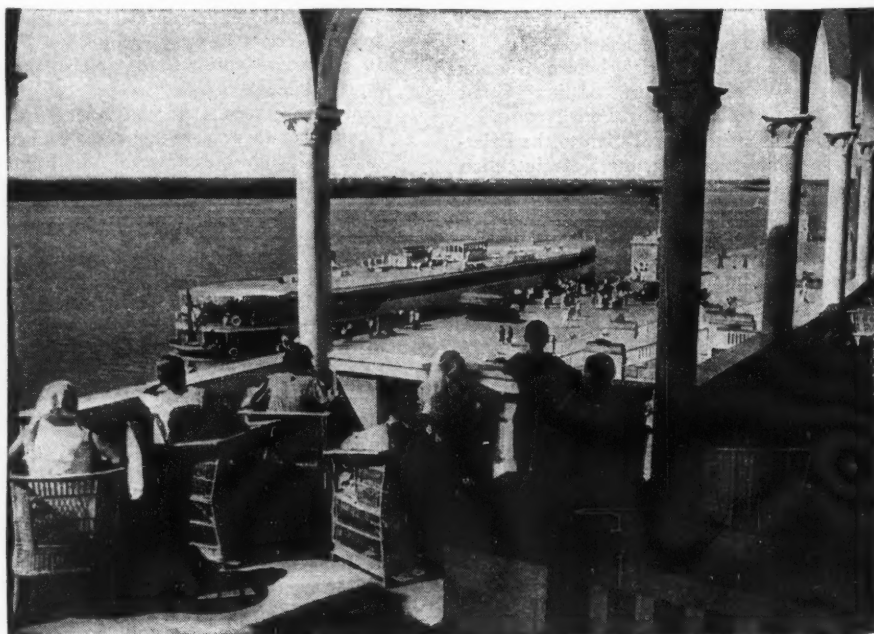
Go to Moscow

the eighteenth century. But Petersburg, often called eastern Russia's western façade, was never distinctively Russian in character. Moscow was always thoroughly Russian, solidly patriotic and dependable. Hence, after the Russian revolution of 1917, the Bolsheviks transferred the capital back to Moscow from Petersburg-Leningrad, after a lapse of two centuries. Since then, Moscow has thrived and expanded; it has seen vast municipal enterprises and great constructive works of all sorts.

To visitors of 1939, the American Russian Institute suggests three new special points of interest: the new Palace of Soviets, the Moscow-Volga Canal, and the all-Russian Agricultural Exhibition—the Soviet Union's first large exposition.

The "George Washington" of Soviet Russia was dynamic V. I. Lenin, father of the Russian revolution, who died in 1924. His beloved widow, Krupskaya, passed away a few weeks ago, a leader to the end in child-welfare and educational matters, and a determined woman never afraid to express her views under any circumstances. Meanwhile, the body of her husband lies on permanent display in a tomb on Moscow's Red Square, where millions of pilgrims from all over the world file past to look and wonder.

But soon Moscow will have brought



The Khimki station on the Moscow-Volga Canal. Note the streamlining of the river cutter.

to completion another monument to Lenin—one which will tower over the city, pointing up a hundred feet higher than New York City's Empire State Building. This memorial is the Palace of Soviets, which, when erected, will be the tallest structure in the world.

On the very summit of the Palace will stand a statue of Lenin, pointing on toward Utopia. The understructure of the immense Palace appears partly Grecian, partly modernistic, but the Lenin statue dwarfs the details of building itself. Spectacular in conception, it is entirely different in treatment from the restraint of our Washington Monument.

THE structure, whose foundations have been laid in seas of cement, occupies an area of more than 110,000 square yards. The plan features a Grand Hall, to accommodate 20,000 persons in a big amphitheater. During conventions, congresses, and the like, the arena of the Hall can be filled with armchairs, but these may be lowered beneath the floor to transfer the arena into a large platform for sports exhibitions and mass performances. A small hall will hold close to 6,000 people. Nearby is a library for half a million books, and four adjacent auditoriums. All told, the Palace of Soviets is designed to accommodate no less than 30,000 persons, with 100 elevators and 62 escalators to move them about.

Visitors to Moscow this year will be able to see this great project in process of speedy, efficient construction under the drive of Revolutionary zeal.

Another huge undertaking is the Volga-Moscow Canal, largest river waterway of its type in the world. The canal has three major tasks: first, to serve the millions of Muscovites with a pure supply of drinking water from the mighty river Volga—100,000,000 pails daily; second, to supply water to the Moscow river and its tributaries, which flow within the city limits; third, to link the Soviet capital with the Volga, and thus to make of Moscow a river port capable of receiving large ships which require deep water for navigating.

The Volga-Moscow Canal is 80 miles long, and nearly all of it has been excavated artificially. Its width is 85 yards—room enough to enable large Volga steamers to pass one another comfortably. Its depth is more

than fifteen feet. There are three concrete dams, and eight dams of earthen construction, with ten sluices of reinforced concrete. Ornamental as well as useful, the sluice towers and stations boast sculpture, fancy stone patterns, and bas-reliefs of a political, social, or historical nature.

Work on the canal began in 1932. One of the main objectives of the Second Five-Year Plan, it shortens the water route between Moscow and Leningrad by nearly 700 miles. Since Moscow is sometimes known as Russia's "father," and the beautiful, graceful Volga as her "mother," the canal project serves as a sort of marriage tie between the pair.

Nor is the port of Moscow slow to meet its new responsibilities. Ten new bridges across the Moscow river are planned, one of them the widest in the world—over 40 yards. The structure is of reinforced concrete, faced with rose-colored granite mined in Russia's progressive Ukraine.

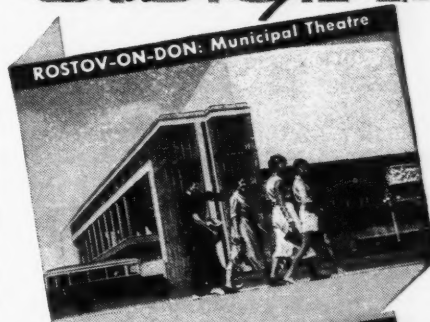
The great Russian exposition in Moscow's Pushkinskoe suburb, which will attract many tourists this year, covers 350 acres. Primarily agricultural, it branches out into a wide range of exhibits representing the varied regions of Russia. The central pavilion tells the story of farm collectivization and mechanization—a steady progress over a twenty-year period. To supplement this factual study, the more artistic fair managers have planted orchards, set up hothouses for tropical vegetation, and laid out Arctic "gardens." It must be remembered that Russia is a happy hunting ground for polar bears as well as tigers, for reindeer as well as camels, and that her flora varies as widely as her fauna. The startling variety reminds one of London's British Empire Fair at Wembley back in 1924.

The Arctic Pavilion, for instance, is managed by the heroic Northern Sea Route Administration, and portrays social organization in the Soviet Arctic, with explanations of how vegetables are raised in the polar wastes, and how animals are cared for. Eskimos, Lapps, Samoyeds, Chukchees, are all on display. Their villages, dances, art and music may also be seen. These "little brothers" represent to Russians, what Sioux or Iroquois do to most Americans—a source of endless interest and academic study.

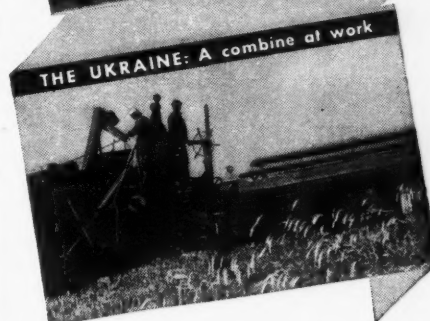
The state farms and collectives (Russian agriculture is now 90 per cent collectivized) won the right to dis-

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play at the Moscow exposition on a basis of the yield per acre of their principal staple crops. In the same way, through competition, veterinaries, agronomists, and star tractor-drivers won the right to demonstrate. Tractor or "combine" chauffeurs are judged by how much ground they can "work" in a single shift, and agronomists by the "lift" in crop yield obtained under individual scientific management.

Rubber-bearing plants, Soviet camphor and tea and silk at Moscow's fair indicate that the Russian government strives to make up for its deficiencies in certain products under the guidance of local Luther Burbanks with inventive minds and laborious dispositions. The entire exposition is named after the Russian writer, Pushkin.

But these are only three of the aspects of Moscow. Not so long ago the huge metropolitan capital was more like a sprawling cosmopolitan village,

built without plan, and with crooked, narrow streets. Since the revolution, 3,000 apartment houses have been put up, and the number of public libraries has been increased from 16 to 2,000. There are now 60 theaters, instead of the pre-revolutionary 14.

The city—with its 3½ million people—covers perhaps 70,000 acres, but Moscow urban planners intend to double its size. Beautiful wooded areas in suburbs are being taken in, and the city's population is to be kept at a maximum of five million. According to these plans, density of population will be cut in half, as streets are widened and blocks of antiquated houses are demolished.

Greater Moscow is being surrounded by a "protective" forest belt with its parks close to 12 miles in diameter. A great boulevard from Dzerzhinsky Square to the Palace of Soviets is well under way, the thoroughfares of Mos-

cow's ancient Chinatown have been reconstructed, and the Moscow Fifth Avenue, Gorky Street (named after the Russian novelist), has been broadened to care for the increasing automobile traffic.

Moscow now has 35 miles of subways, with additional miles yet to be completed. Also it has automobile busses, trolley busses, 5,000 taxicabs, street cars and droschkies.

There is yet another interesting phase of a trip to Moscow—the wide diversity of citizens seen on the streets, or in cafes. The Soviet Union is home for 180 different races and languages—Slavic, German, Jewish, Finn, Rumanian, Mongol, Armenian, Turkoman, and many another. Like the visiting American who notes their picturesque costumes in the streets, they too in many cases are on tour to Moscow, from all over the country.

ROGER SHAW

Cash for Brazil's Good-Will

(Continued from page 39)

nevertheless the industry, to prosper, also must have large outlets in Europe. The cotton industry likewise must depend upon Germany, and a large part of the cacao and citrus fruit output must be sold to Central Europe.

And so, differences with the Reich in the economic field were hurriedly patched up. A general trade treaty, along barter lines, is now being negotiated. But there is little doubt that Brazil's feelings toward the totalitarian states are much cooler than a few years ago.

However, President Vargas has stated repeatedly that Brazil intends to maintain friendly relations and to carry on trade with all countries, except Soviet Russia, regardless of their ideologies. Despite the flurry of trouble with the Reich, the government censorship mostly stresses favorably the views of the totalitarian states. Mussolini, Hitler, Franco, Japan, come in for constant praise. This attitude keys in with constant propaganda from all the powers named. Recently Franco's agents have built up Spanish Phalanxes or Fascist groups, which have been tolerated by the government. The Japanese have a diplomatic cultural attache, and invite officials, business men, writers and students to Japan at government expense. Naturally this propaganda persistently attacks the United States.

The large German and Italian and Japanese colonies in Brazil provide the basis for strong business connections, an immediate outlet for totalitarian goods, and the maintenance of fine steamship services. Germany and Italy maintain air lines within Brazil. The Lufthansa subsidiary there has over 5,000 miles of routes, with up-to-date flying ships and airfields.

Vargas cannot afford to antagonize either Germany or the United States. The ante can be run up on both powers. Apparently he is out for the highest bidder, and within limits the highest bidder will win the day. Though he had previously stated that he would accept no foreign loans, the vast monetary credits to Brazil now proposed apparently have swung the dictator more within the American orbit than at any time since 1930.

Vargas' elaborate five-year program of public works, highways, railway electrification, and industrial diversification, requires capital. Brazil also plans to build up her navy, army, and air force on a big scale. The financing of this elaborate program can come only from foreign loans or barter arrangements for necessary supplies. Both methods undoubtedly will be utilized. Certainly the Brazilian army caste is predisposed to get supplies from Germany and Italy. It believes that the Ethiopian and Spanish cam-

paigns have brought about a practical demonstration of the effectiveness of such materials. But American influence is increasing even in the army. It is strong in the Navy—we have a naval mission there—and an effort is now being made to win Brazil over by constructing her vessels at low cost in our government naval yards.

Propaganda offsetting that of the totalitarian powers, increased cultural interchange, new steamship services, loans, credits—such things have shown that the United States can beat Germany at her own game. American influence has been expanding. The present round of the struggle for power there is by unanimous decision awarded to the United States.

Unfortunately in this hodge-podge of international intrigue and dictatorship—a game of power politics from beginning to end—the Brazilian people are largely lost sight of. Vargas, for all his absolute powers, sits on a shaky throne. He rules by force and denial of all civil liberties. If he shows favoritism toward any one foreign power to the exclusion of others, his position may grow shakier. Some day popular rights will be re-established in Brazil, and power politics may have to do its work all over again. But the rise of democratic government in Brazil would probably increase the advantages for the United States. Meanwhile the country remains a vast question mark in international affairs—though less so than before Oswaldo Aranha sold us good will for cash in hand.